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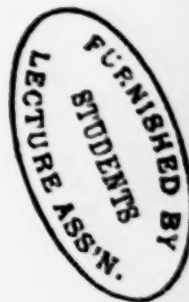
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## CONTENTS OF THIS NUMBER.

THE WEEK.....	469
EDITORIAL ARTICLES:	
Mr. Wainwright's Confessions.....	472
Republican Decadence at the Colleges.....	472
"Fact" in Theology.....	473
"The Prince of Wales's Set".....	474
SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
Thomas Paine's Imprisonment and Washington.....	475
A Railway Celebration in Asia Minor.....	476
General Harbot.....	478
CORRESPONDENCE:	
O' Consequence, 'Consequently'.....	479
The Objective Point.....	479
NOTES.....	479
REVIEWS:	
Wagner's Letters to Dresden Friends.....	482
Recent Novels.....	483
A Commentary on the Campaign and Battle of Manassas of July, 1861.....	484
Through Russia on a Mustang.....	485
Trade Unionism, New and Old.....	485
Essays on French Novelists.....	486
Elementary Science Lessons.—Autobiography of the Earth.....	486
The Science of Fairy Tales.....	486
Libelli de lite Imperatorum et pontificum saeculi xi. Ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis.....	487
BOOKS OF THE WEEK.....	487

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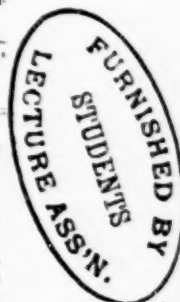
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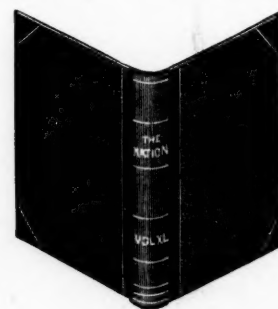
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# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 11, 1891.

## The Week.

THE *Itata* affair has ended very happily in the voluntary surrender of her to the United States by the Congressional Junta which owned her, and one of whose ports she had reached. We may be allowed, now that the rumpus is over, to recall what we said on the 21st of May, when it had just begun, as to the proper way of getting possession of her and bringing her again within our jurisdiction:

"Our remedy for the offence of the *Itata*, whatever it be, is at present to be sought from the Chilean Congressmen by formal application. Whether she has committed an offence remains to be determined, for it is good law that American citizens may sell ships fit for war to foreign belligerents even, no matter where they take on their armaments. At all events, the fact and nature of her offence are to be settled by the courts, and not by the captain of the *Charleston*."

Such an application made to the Junta would undoubtedly have succeeded. But such a mode of proceeding had the demerit of being quiet and dignified and of having no "capital" in it. So we went to work in the way, so dear to Jingoists, known as "hullabaloo." We sent a steamer after the *Itata* three days after she had got away, and when there was not the smallest chance of catching her, and called it "a chase." Sometimes we said we were doing this in defence of our honor, and sometimes in discharge of our neutral duties to the usurper and traitor Balmaceda. And we went on for a full week, threatening and expecting to "blow her out of water" for committing a misdemeanor, and to fight the Chilean navy in order to get possession of her, and even to seize her in the ports of Mexico, to which she had not gone. A more undignified bit of swagger we have not had for a long time, but it is the kind of thing to which we are sure to be treated in every international complication whenever Mr. Blaine is at the helm. A telegram to Admiral McCann, in the Chilean waters, telling him what had happened, and directing him to ask the Congressional Junta for the surrender of the *Itata* when she arrived, would have settled the whole matter in a quiet, gentlemanly way, which should always be the way of a great nation.

Secretary Foster had a meeting with the New York bankers on Thursday, which has apparently had a cheering effect on all concerned. What has been troubling him and the country ever since he came into office, is the question what he should do about meeting the \$57,000,000  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Government bonds falling due in September. The contention of his opponents ever since the Billion Congress adjourned has been, that the Treasury was so depleted that he would not be able to meet them without trenching on the

reserve appropriated to the redemption of the greenbacks, or, in other words, without virtually confessing the insolvency of the Treasury. What he maintains is, that he has enough money to pay the bonds if absolutely necessary; that he has from \$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000 of cash available for the purpose; but in doing so he is forced to admit that it would be inconvenient and unpleasant to use it in this way, as it would draw his balance down very low. So he came on to New York to see whether the bankers would not advise him to do what, we presume, he had thought of doing all along, viz., ask the holders of the bonds, mostly Western banks, to let them run after maturity at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. interest. This, of course, would be, to all intents and purposes, the contraction of a new loan at a reduced rate of interest, and yet it is desirable that it should not look like a new loan, and thus enable the enemy to say that the Secretary had been obliged to borrow to meet the current demands on him. What he wanted of the bankers, therefore, was advice which would enable him to call it something else than a loan—such as an extension on mutually advantageous terms—and this they gave him. They pointed out that it was very important to the country that the banks which now hold the bonds should continue to hold them, in order not to have to contract their circulation just as the fall demand for money becomes most pressing; that it was also important that he should not offer them too low a rate of interest, because in that case the banks, finding they could make nothing on their circulation, would begin to sell their bonds at the risk of forcing them below par in the market—a very undesirable thing to have happen to a Government security. So that, in one way or another, it was made to seem the solemn duty of the Secretary to the country, with much resulting comfort to the Secretary himself, to put off on honorable terms the payment of the  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cents. And he in his turn comforted the bankers by assuring them that under no circumstances would he fail in his duty to keep the silver money of the Government at par with gold, and that, no matter how much gold was exported, he would allow no slight to be inflicted on silver—that is, that he would do whatever was necessary to make it as good as gold in the form of currency.

There was a dinner given to Mr. Foster at the Union League Club in the evening, at which, according to the *Tribune's* brief report, an effort was made to improve the occasion for the benefit of the Republican party. Mr. Foster, according to this authority, there met the taunt contained in the epithet "billion-dollar Congress" by the argument that this is a "billion-dollar country," which really contains Mr. Evarts's celebrated defence of the tariff, "that even if \$100,000,-

000 too much taxes are raised by the Government, what is this but \$1.66 a head per annum, or three cents a week?" Mr. Foster maintained that although the appropriations made by the last Congress were "large," they were all "essential, and no larger than the needs of the country required." If this means that the money is sure to be spent, there is no denying it, but the fact that the money is "all gone" has never yet been accepted as proof that it was "essential" to the man who had the spending of it. It is no less true of governments than of individuals that their wants adapt themselves beautifully to their attainable incomes. If Congress were to vote two billions to-morrow, there would be no difficulty in finding "essentials" to lay it out on. We were, therefore, not surprised to hear from the Secretary, apropos of this, that "the Republican party had proved true in every emergency." No party certainly was ever more faithful in keeping up the supply of "essentials," or was ever livelier about the receipt of customs.

The Keystone Bank scandal in Philadelphia grows more portentous with each day's developments. It was shown on Thursday by the report of the experts who have been examining Bardsley's accounts as City Treasurer with the Keystone Bank, that he had about \$200,000 more of the city's money in that bank than his books showed. He reported \$441,000 as deposited, when he really had \$628,000. As the authorized limit of city deposits in the bank was \$400,000, Bardsley and his bondsmen were responsible for all above that sum, and to escape this responsibility he sought to conceal the excess by having it transferred to his personal account. The difference between the reported deposit and the actual deposit, amounting to nearly \$200,000, was represented chiefly by his own unpaid checks, which he carried as cash. In order to raise the amount covered by these checks, when an investigation was ordered, he misappropriated \$39,000 of city money lying in another national bank to the credit of city contractors. It also came out on Thursday that Bardsley has been a delinquent taxpayer since 1887, he being a large property-owner, and that, although he at present owes the city nearly \$12,000 for taxes, his name has never appeared on the published list of the delinquent taxpayers. This revelation throws considerable light upon the fact, pointed out by the *Philadelphia Ledger*, that there were outstanding taxes at the beginning of the present year amounting to more than \$6,000,000, of which \$4,000,000 was uncollectible. Why were they uncollectible, and who was protecting Bardsley and other delinquents?

We were in hopes that the Postmaster-General would avail himself, in his address to his Bethany Sunday-school on Sunday, of

the recent sad occurrences in the banking world in Philadelphia in which he has played a prominent part. We were therefore much disappointed to find that, instead, he had talked to a large audience "of the righteous example of King Hezekiah." Now, the example of Hezekiah was righteous, but it nevertheless does not seem to us to furnish Mr. Wanamaker with a text suited to this occasion. Hezekiah's reign was prosperous, and he got the better of all his enemies, including Sennacherib, who was the most formidable; but it will be observed that when he "took all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the King's house," and "cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah, King of Judah, had overlaid," he converted none of it to his own use. On the contrary, we are expressly told that he "gave it to the King of Assyria," on the public account, to save his country from devastation, having contracted to pay that monarch 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold as tribute. Moreover, Hezekiah, when threatened with death, was able to say, in his prayer for the prolongation of his life, "Remember now how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight." He could not have said this if he had borrowed money, or levied taxes, or taken public treasure for unworthy purposes, or given it to men whom he knew to be dishonest, or spent it in ways which he dared not disclose, or got the keeper of the treasury to allow him secretly to overdraw his civil list, and then pretend to the people that he never took a shekel but what the law allowed.

The death of Sir John Macdonald is an event in Canadian politics of very great importance, and promises a period, probably short, of somewhat chaotic politics. It has for the moment produced something like consternation among the Tories and Imperialists, owing to his long tenure of power, the masterful way in which he has led them, and to the ingenious unscrupulousness with which he met all the troublesome questions with which Canadian politics bristles. His resemblance as a politician to our Mr. Blaine is most striking, and would doubtless have been complete had our system of government permitted Mr. Blaine to become both an executive officer and parliamentary leader. To study Mr. Blaine's career, keeping this limitation in mind, is almost to study Sir John's. Curiously enough, both of them, after having been extreme high-tariff men, became, about the same time, advocates of reciprocity on finding that protection was not fulfilling the promise of its prime. Both, too, owed a large part of their success to their "magnetism," and hearty, bluff manner, and readiness to be all things to all men. Sir John Macdonald's removal will necessitate a complete reconstruction of parties in Canada, and until this is done there is little use in speculating about its ulterior consequences. The one thing cer-

tain is, that his death is a serious blow to the British connection. Whether it will do anything for political purification is more than doubtful. No successfully corrupt politician has ever reigned long without leaving a school behind him trained in the same arts, and believing thoroughly, if not in their necessity, in their legitimacy.

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the Republic of Guatemala, Señor F. Angulano, has made a long report on the Barrundia affair to the National Legislative Assembly. His account of Barrundia, personally, does not differ, except in giving more details, from that of Mr. Cabot Lodge in the House of Representatives last fall. He denies that Barrundia was an honorable political refugee. On the contrary, he says:

"Gen. Don J. Martín Barrundia, who for several years had been Minister of War, departed from Guatemala in April, 1885, a few days after Gen. Don Manuel L. Barillas had entered upon the exercise of the Presidency of the Republic. His departure was not by virtue of any order of exile on the part of the Government, but was caused by the discovery of his having misappropriated a large amount of the national funds, and also by the criminal processes with which many individuals who had been victims of his misconduct, during the years that he had been Minister of War, threatened to arraign him before the courts of justice."

He further adds, and seems to prove, that when Barrundia was captured, he was not only a fugitive from criminal justice, but was actually engaged in a revolutionary attempt against the established government of Guatemala. Señor Angulano then travels over the law of the matter, which is now familiar ground. His report will doubtless be a valuable document next winter, when the whole Mizner-Reiter-Barrundia transaction will be ripped open by the House of Representatives.

A discussion has been going on between the *Christian Union* and the *Examiner* over the question of the duty of a minister who finds himself seriously out of harmony with the views of his denomination. The former journal maintains that he ought to stay within his church and try to reform it, while the latter says that he is bound in honor to withdraw. In the loosely organized Congregational and Baptist churches it may, perhaps, be a question how stringent is a clergyman's obligation to keep within the limits of the general doctrinal belief of his denomination. But in the Presbyterian Church—and it is to that the whole discussion really refers—there can be no doubt about it, since all ministers have solemnly to subscribe to a definite creed. Nothing could be more demoralizing, therefore, than for a minister publicly and defiantly to declare, as a prominent Presbyterian pastor in this city recently did in his own church, that he "was not bound by the Westminster Confession." At the time of his installation he solemnly declared that he would be bound by it, and if he had not so declared, he could not have been installed. More than that—and this is a point

which the religious papers just mentioned do not touch upon—such a man is receiving a salary from a church which has no legal right to its property unless it stands by the Confession. The financial question is one which will play a great part in the proposed withdrawal of Union Seminary from the oversight of the Assembly. From such oversight it can probably withdraw, but it cannot modify its statutes requiring assent to the Westminster without impairing the title to most of its property. And in the case of an individual minister, it would seem that the first thing a tender conscience ought to insist upon is the removal of all grounds for suspicion that monetary considerations have anything to do with his action. The moral grandeur of the Free Church disruption in Scotland was largely in its lofty indifference to the jingle of the guinea.

Few will read the letter of Mr. Philip Schuyler protesting against the proposed erection of a monument to his deceased aunt, Mrs. George L. Schuyler, by an obscure society, without asking whether an intrusion of this sort on privacy cannot be repressed by legal process. The point is certainly worth examination. It would be difficult to concoct a more ingenious or painful mode of annoying a family than starting a public subscription to erect a monument to a deceased relative whose life had been a strictly private one, thus bringing under public discussion his or her claims to this sort of remembrance. There is in a movement of this sort any amount of material for ridicule, or depreciation and even obloquy. It surely must be libellous under some authoritative definition of libel. It is, in the present case, aggravated by collocating the name of a strictly private person with that of a well-known public agitator, with whom, without meaning any disrespect to Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Schuyler would probably for no earthly inducement have appeared on a platform. It is somewhat like proposing to raise a subscription for a joint memorial to a very retired clergyman and Robert G. Ingersoll, on the ground of their common eminence as "thinkers." To get at the full enormity of the thing, we must suppose the possibility of a similar subscription being set on foot for purposes of ridicule and annoyance by the enemies of a living private individual. They might keep the subscription going for an indefinite period, without the smallest intention of ever building the monument. Surely the law has some remedy for this species of misery.

We presume most readers of the *Tribune* who read Sunday papers at all, opened last Sunday's edition of that journal with the expectation of finding therein the fullest account yet given of the ins and outs of the Cumming trial, from the pen of our old friend the Tory Squire. There is no subject on which, as a rule, the Squire is better fitted to shine, or shines more, than a trouble of some kind



among "smart people." He speaks on all this class of topics with the authority and with the air of a master, for is he not one of the "smart people" himself? He has only to interrogate himself to know how they feel, even at important crises in their lives. Moreover, there has not been, since he made his appearance in the highest circles of London society, an occasion more worthy of his powers, or one of more absorbing interest to the British public, than this one. The scenes in court, the appearance and dress of the ladies, the fence of the opposing counsel, the appearance and behavior of the Prince of Wales in the witness-box (not "stand"), and the appalling audacity of the jurymen who cross-examined his Royal Highness, formed a combination of attractions which the ordinary ill-informed reader expected to call into exercise the Squire's very highest talent as a fashionable chronicler. We say, "the ill-informed reader." Those, however, who, like ourselves, know the Squire's place in the exalted sphere in which he lives, did not expect him to come out with anything like his normal splendor and effusiveness about this trial on Sunday, and they were not disappointed. He had three columns in the *Tribune*, of which he devoted two and a half to the Bering Sea question, Sir John Macdonald, the peace of Europe, the Queen's views on the Irish church, Balfour, Parnell, the omnibus men, copyright, and Dr. Fordyce Barker's death, but only at the end, in a couple of small paragraphs, did he make any mention of the baccarat case, and a very colorless mention it was. Some people may be disgusted with this reticence, but we are not. We say it evinces a delicacy and refinement not often found among journalists. The truth is, that the Squire's relations with an exalted personage to whom he distantly alludes as "one of the most distinguished personages concerned," forbid his going into this very disagreeable matter with common newspaper freedom. A county gentleman necessarily has his limitations as a newspaper correspondent. There are certain things on which his position forbids him to dilate, no matter how eagerly a sensation-loving public may desire to hear from him. They must console themselves by remembering that the very things which seal the Squire's lips to-day, constitute his greatness as a social authority on ordinary occasions.

An interesting contribution to the discussion of profit-sharing was made by Mr. A. H. D. Acland, M.P., in his recent address as Chairman at the opening of the Twenty-third annual congress of the Coöperative Societies of Great Britain. These societies conduct stores, both wholesale and retail, which do a great and steadily increasing business, and which return large profits to those who find the capital. But those employed in such stores are no better off than employees in other stores; indeed, it was admitted at this meeting that "there had been a tendency on the part of Coöperative Societies to give contracts to the lowest tender

and the jerry builder," and an appeal was made that they should pay at least "the current rates of wages." As for the theory that, in the industries of the country generally, profit-sharing would be found the solution of labor difficulties, and that thus the interests of masters and men would become identified, Mr. Acland remarked: "It could not be said that either abroad—though there were a few remarkable instances on the Continent—or at home those hopes had been widely realized. Even at the best, it was a very difficult system to work, and was almost inapplicable in many trades. The ideal coöperative productive society, where all the capital was owned by workers, was admitted to be an impossibility, except in the rarest cases."

Mr. Balfour's announcement that he is about to issue a proclamation suspending the operation of the Coercion Act throughout Ireland is probably part of the general process of taking in sail in preparation for the general election, in which the Ministry is now engaged. It is doubtless true that there is much less disturbance in Ireland than there has been, but only a small part, if any, of the improvement is due to the operation of the law. The Plan of Campaign, which the Act was mainly intended to meet, diminished owing to its success on the principal estates on which it was tried. What was left of it after this, has expired through the lack of funds caused by the Parnellite split in the Irish ranks. The claim that the Coercion Act killed it is baseless. It kept going vigorously during five years of most relentless execution of the law, which included, in the beginning, a plank bed and prison fare and clothing for the orators who supported it. What has done most, probably, to bring about the suspension is the failure of those hopes, based on the division in the Irish ranks, to which Lord Salisbury gave expression when he advised his followers "to put their money on Parnell." As all those who have done so are apparently out of pocket, something new has to be tried on the now dear, but once contemptible, Irish, particularly as the free-education sop offered to the English electors appears to be a total failure.

The adoption of the new Constitution in Brazil has been shorn of its present effectiveness by the failure of the Constituent Congress, before adjournment, to pass laws putting it into execution. Thus the new instrument provides for the complete separation of Church and State, yet the Administration has just refused to admit that ecclesiastical property is subject to the common law. It takes the position that the preëxisting body of laws was not annulled, *ipso facto*, by the adoption of the Constitution, and that, until they are specifically repealed and others enacted in their places, they must remain in force. The popular opinion was wholly to the contrary, and it is a matter of much public complaint and indigna-

tion that the Executive is not putting the Constitution in force. In like manner, the municipal government of Rio is in a singular condition of legal uncertainty. It derived all its power from the Provisional Government, which is now extinct, and has never been recognized by the Constitutional Government. It is also maintained that the very members of the Cabinet are illegally in office, since they were put in office, most of them, before the adoption of the Constitution, and have not been subsequently confirmed. Whatever may be said of the Government's contention that the Constitution does not execute itself without supplementary laws, it certainly seems absurd for it to say that old laws directly opposed to the Constitution are in force until repealed. If unconstitutional, they are as if they never were. At any rate, the unsatisfactoriness of the whole situation is sure to make the Government trouble when the next Congress meets.

The financial troubles in which Portugal is now plunged have been long accumulating. Partly owing to financial incapacity on the part of the Government, partly to the fear of revolution always before the eyes of any Minister of Finance who should propose increased taxation to meet increased expenses, the country's debt has gone on heaping up, under the policy of constant borrowing, until now the national credit is almost exhausted. The total indebtedness has risen from about \$400,000,000 in 1875 to nearly \$700,000,000 at present—or an advance from a debt of \$87 per capita to \$135. For this there is little to show, except the 505 miles of Government railways, and the 780 miles privately owned but liberally subsidized out of the public funds. The revenue has been steadily below outlay, and for a considerable time fully one-half of the total income has been required to pay interest charges. The budget for the current year shows an estimated deficit of upwards of \$2,000,000, and the shortage will, of course, turn out to be larger than that sum. Where the Government can borrow, except at ruinous rates, does not appear. The attempt to float a loan in London last year was a flat failure. About \$15,000,000 were obtained last December from a syndicate of Paris bankers, for 3 per cent. bonds taken at 46, secured by a lien on the Government tobacco revenue. This is only a temporary loan, however, and the Minister of Finance got the Cortes last March to vote the Government a monopoly of the tobacco manufacture, and to authorize a loan of \$50,000,000 on the strength of it. But just about then came the dispute with England over South African boundaries, and killed the negotiations for a loan in London. The crisis became so severe that a decree was issued May 11 suspending payments for 60 days to save the banks. Late telegrams show that the Paris lenders are advancing more money, but the situation is such that only radical measures can relieve it, and no Ministry is strong enough to take radical measures.

## MR. WANAMAKER'S CONFESSIONS.

MR. WANAMAKER appeared before the Keystone Bank Investigating Committee on Monday, with a written statement, prepared under the advice of legal counsel, in which he professed to give a complete account of all his relations to the bank and its wreckers. In order to comprehend the full meaning of his statement it is necessary to recall what had been revealed by previous witnesses bearing upon those same relations. It had been shown that Mr. Wanamaker was on very friendly terms with Lucas, the dead President of the bank, who stole \$998,000 of its funds, and with Marsh, the fugitive President, who succeeded Lucas and concealed his predecessor's theft by means of false statements and other deceptions; that he enjoyed most unusual favors at the bank during Marsh's Presidency; that Marsh once lent him \$200,000 of the bank's money on his personal note, without the knowledge of the directors; that although the National Banking Law forbade the granting of discounts beyond \$50,000 in amount, Mr. Wanamaker was able to get discounts to the extent of \$150,000 based upon his own notes without collateral, and that Mrs. Wanamaker was allowed to overdraw her personal account in the bank to the extent of \$1,000, and possibly \$5,000.

On every one of these counts Mr. Wanamaker confesses judgment, and on the most serious of them he supplies new evidence. In regard to his relations with the dead President Lucas, he confesses not merely that they were friendly, but that the two men entered together upon a speculative venture in Reading stock in which the Keystone Bank's money was used with great freedom. They purchased Reading stock on joint account, Lucas supplying certain sums of money as Wanamaker called for them and depositing the same to Wanamaker's personal account in the Keystone Bank, and on this Wanamaker drew checks amounting to \$60,000. Upon several occasions when Wanamaker called for money, Lucas gave him Keystone Bank stock, and when Lucas died, Wanamaker held 2,515 shares of this stock, which he had used for raising money in various ways. After Lucas's death, Wanamaker discovered, he says, that no money had been placed to his credit, and that his account at the bank was overdrawn to the extent of about \$60,000. He thereupon held fast to the 2,515 shares of Keystone stock as security for that loss. The character of this stock and its subsequent career in Mr. Wanamaker's hands we shall describe later.

The other counts of the case against Mr. Wanamaker were that he had enjoyed unusual favors at the Keystone Bank during Marsh's Presidency, had been granted discounts to an extent three times as great as allowed by law, and that Mrs. Wanamaker had been permitted to overdraw her account. He admits the truth of all of them. The statement of a \$200,000 loan by Marsh without security was made

by a director of the bank, and Mr. Wanamaker admits it by making no reference to it. The statement as to illegal discounts was made by the Bank Examiner, Mr. Drew. Mr. Wanamaker admits one discount for February, 1890, of \$50,000, the full legal limit, and another one of \$50,000 in the same month, explaining that the second one "was understood to be personal to me individually." Another discount of \$60,000 was granted at Marsh's personal request because he wanted Wanamaker paper for use in country banks and otherwise. As for Mrs. Wanamaker's account, that was kept for convenience under a separate head, but it was really a part of the firm's account, and could not be overdrawn while the latter had a balance to its credit.

On minor points, about which there have been only suspicions, Mr. Wanamaker's statement and his admissions on cross-examination do little to clear up the mystery, and serve in many ways to add to it. He shows that his firm had deposits of nearly \$400,000 in the Keystone Bank in November, and that though they were kept there during the "runs" on the bank, they were gradually removed, so that when the collapse came there was little or nothing left to be lost. He denies solemnly that he was ever a stockholder of the bank, yet he held 2,515 shares of its stock for several years, and used it as a basis for loans. He denies that he had any opportunity which smaller depositors did not have of knowing the condition of the bank in time to get his deposits out, that he knew anything about the Lucas defalcation till after the run in December, and yet he admits that Marsh told him in August last that the bank could not afford to continue to pay 6 per cent. interest on the Penny Saving Fund of the Bethany Church, and that although they had been able to get only 2 per cent. interest on that fund up to the time when Marsh as a personal favor had taken it into the Keystone Bank at 6 per cent., yet as soon as Marsh said they could not continue to pay it he took out the entire fund. It has not yet been shown that other depositors got so valuable a hint as this at so early a day.

It has been said, not shown in the testimony, that Mr. Wanamaker had personal knowledge of Bardsley's doubtful character at the time he was nominated for City Treasurer, and that he raised a fund of about \$75,000 to be used in paying Bardsley's debts, but never paid it over because the debts were discovered to be twice that amount. Mr. Wanamaker's answer on this point is extremely interesting: "I never had a business transaction with Mr. Bardsley individually, or as City Treasurer, or with any one representing him in either capacity. I never subscribed any money for his benefit at any time." This is elaborate denial of something that has never been charged. Nobody ever suspected that Mr. Wanamaker himself subscribed anything to this Bardsley fund any more than he did to his celebrated Quay-Harrison fund. He was acting as collector in both cases.

To return for a moment to the 2,515 shares of Keystone Bank stock. Marsh, the fugitive President, says that it is fraudulent or over-issue stock, and is worthless. Mr. Wanamaker admits in his cross-examination that when he discovered that Lucas had not put in the \$60,000 in money to meet his (Wanamaker's) checks to that amount—*checks which the bank had cashed*—he held the bank stock as security for the loss; that when Marsh and Mr. Lucas asked him to give it up he refused to do so until his loss was made good; that when he was told that it was fraudulent stock he refused to believe it, and made repeated efforts to sell it, even after the bank had failed, asking at first \$100,000 and then offering to sell it at \$50,000; that finally he surrendered it to the Lucas estate, and thus considered his relations with Lucas closed without loss on either side, and that he still refuses to believe that the stock is fraudulent.

We have here a simple, unbroken narrative of intimate personal and financial association between Lucas and Wanamaker and Marsh and Wanamaker from the time the former began to speculate with the bank's funds down to the time when the bank collapsed. Lucas went into a "blind pool" with Wanamaker in Reading stock, and when he got into difficulties issued fraudulent Keystone stock upon which Wanamaker raised funds. Marsh, as Lucas's successor, and falsifier of the bank's accounts to hide Lucas's theft, gave Wanamaker most unusual privileges at the bank. When the bank could be kept going no longer, Wanamaker got his money and his firm's money and the Bethany fund money out. Then the collapse came, and it was discovered that while poor depositors had lost considerable sums, the chief losers had been the city of Philadelphia, \$600,000 of whose deposits had gone, and the State of Pennsylvania, \$930,000 of whose deposits had gone also. Mr. Wanamaker takes the witness stand, rolls up his eyes, says he is glad to be permitted to be there, makes his confession, and says if there has been any wrong done he knows nothing about it, and that if Lucas and Marsh and Bardsley and Drew were bad men they kept their badness entirely away from his pious eyes. And the whole newspaper press of Philadelphia—so mighty is the power of Wanamaker "ada."—comes out solemnly the day after the exhibition and declares that his confession is a complete and conclusive vindication.

## REPUBLICAN DECADENCE AT THE COLLEGES.

For some twenty years, beginning with 1870, the classes of the Academic Department of Yale University just before graduation have had printed a volume of class statistics known now as the "class-book." It gives, along with many statistics which are trifling or facetious, others that have substance and value. Among the latter are those showing the strength of the political parties in the class during the last term of the Senior year. In the class of 1891 those figures have just been published, giving



80 Republicans, 32 Democrats, 11 "Mugwumps," and 4 Prohibitionists—showing that 47 out of 127 who gave in their party preference, or about 37 per cent., no longer act with the Republican party. It will be noticed that this year the Democrats number almost one-half as many as the Republicans, while in no Senior Class at Yale up to 1886 had they numbered so many as one-third. But in order to make the comparison as broad as possible, it is better to ignore in the main any particular class and take the statistics for the twenty classes since and including 1870, the classes of 1871 and 1872 having had no class-book printed. The showing will thus be expanded so as to cover twenty years of time and some two thousand students, many of them legal voters.

As an initial comparison, we simply take those who have recorded themselves as Democrats or Republicans—a division which nearly eliminates those who count themselves as "Independents," "Mugwumps," and Prohibitionists, as well as a certain number who are mere doubters, or who, "for fun," may have recorded themselves outside of the Republican or Democratic list. Dividing the twenty classes into two groups, the ten classes previous to 1882 give us 788 Republicans and 161 Democrats. For the ten years since 1881 the computation gives us 744 Republicans and 249 Democrats. The Senior year academic "vote" during the last ten years thus shows a loss of 44 in the case of the Republicans, a gain of 88 for the Democrats. In other words, the Republicans have lost say 5.6 per cent., while the Democrats have gained about 54.7 per cent. This change has taken place, too, in the face of the fact that the young men at college are at first apt to adopt "paternal" politics, whether they are "new voters" or non-voters.

In the case of some of the later classes the change is most strikingly marked. Thus in the class of 1889, who must have measurably formed their political opinions during the tariff Presidential campaign of 1888, there are recorded forty-three Republicans, thirty-one Democrats, twenty "Mugwumps," and three Prohibitionists. Of the members of that class who actually voted in 1888 there were twenty who voted for Harrison, eighteen for Cleveland, and two for Fisk. In the class of 1890 there were twenty voters in 1888, of whom twelve voted for Harrison, seven for Cleveland, and one for Fisk. Again, taking the last three classes, we find they have counted 211 Republicans, 107 Democrats, 44 "Mugwumps" and Independents, and 7 Prohibitionists. In these three classes, whose party opinions have been formed on recent political questions, the Democrats number more than one-half the Republicans, while in the ten years before 1882 they were only about one-fifth, and the Democrats, "Independents," and "Mugwumps" together have had, in the three classes, say three votes to four of the Republicans.

While college statistics of this kind cannot be exact, yet errors largely offset each other, and the steady drift of the older undergraduates from the Republican party is

clearly demonstrated. The figures have also further meanings. In 1870, when the class statistics first began at Yale, there were only 518 undergraduates in the academic department; in 1891 there are 832. Yet, in spite of this increase, which has been pretty steady during the interval, the Republican "vote" of Senior year shows an absolute loss for the last ten years, as compared with the years preceding since 1870, while the Democratic gain of 54.7 per cent is very far from equalizing the whole "vote" to the ratio of gain in the whole number of academic students. Or, to state the case in figures, while the total Democratic and Republican "vote" in the ten Senior Classes for the first ten years cited was 949, it was for the second ten years 993, showing an increase of but 44, or about 4.6 per cent. The figures of membership for the graduating classes during the same two periods were respectively 1,191 and 1,401, or a gain of about 17.6 per cent. Thus the Democratic and Republican "vote" combined has not kept pace with the increase of numbers in the graduating classes, and the difference must be made up in part at least of those who refuse to go into the class statistics as members of either of the two leading parties. How weakly the Republican party is represented nowadays in this non party element we all are aware, and if it could be worked into the figures, they would make the evidence of Republican decadence as proved by the Yale class statistics much more impressive. Probably they would show that the Republicans have hardly at present any majority at all, as was the case, we believe, when the general canvass at Harvard University was made during the Presidential campaign of 1888.

Take that Harvard canvass and join it with the figures we have given at Yale, and the testimony is certainly most telling as to the rapid decline of the old "party of moral ideas" among the young men at our two leading universities, where the opponents of the party twenty years ago did not number probably 10 per cent. of the two student constituencies. Add the palpable change of sentiment among the members of the two University faculties, as well as the wholesale secessions among the "thinking voters" who are graduates, and we get further evidence fit for the Republican party to view with the most prayerful solicitude. It was not long ago that Mr. Clarkson, the Lord High Executioner of fourth-class postmasters, spoke his lament over the entrance of Democratic literature into Republican homes. If he will turn his eye on our colleges, he will find a kindred theme for a fresh and more sorrowful jeremiad.

#### "TACT" IN THEOLOGY.

If Pascal were alive, he would find material for a new series of "Provincial Letters" in the phases of our latest theological controversies. Conveniently ambiguous words, like his *pouvoir prochain*, made at one time the test of orthodoxy, at another a cover for heretical opinions, would meet him at every turn. And the elusive and conflicting views of our modern Sorbonne, better able, like its

seventeenth-century prototype, to "find monks than reasons," would call for the full exercise of the detective qualities of his analytic intellect. One phrase in particular would, we are sure, call forth a delightful letter. We refer to the current saying that a man needs "tact" in holding and uttering questionable theological opinions. If Prof. Briggs had only had "tact," so has groaned more than one of his friends, if he had not been so blunt and pugnacious, he might have held his horrifying doctrines, and fifty others worse, and no one would have troubled him. And then they have mentioned this and the other leader of the Church, living or dead, either one of whom, they assert, would have had enough of this most desirable "tact" to run the rapids in perfect safety.

Now, it is to be remarked that this quality is a newly discovered requisite in a religious leader. Doubtless the venerated reformers of other days would have got on much better if they had known about it. With a due amount of this "tact," Calvin would not have had to flee from Paris for his life on account of his radical utterances. And everybody knows how deplorably wanting in it Luther was—the reckless, world-defying Teuton. And even the one whom both Luther and Calvin called Master was terribly indiscreet, rashly denounced the current theology of his day as a mass of unreasonable tradition, and acted so that his alarmed friends thought he was "beside himself." Still, changed times may justify the honor paid to this new characteristic, and it is only fair to ask what it really is, and what it has accomplished in these days of its prevalence.

It turns out, however, that this lauded quality of the modern theologian is shown by examination to be only the thing which already had the appropriate name of trimming. What is really meant by this necessary "tact" is holding one opinion in private and another in public, saying one thing to young men in a seminary and quite another to the General Assembly, and deftly alternating between the courage and cowardice of one's convictions. Moreover, the conspicuous examples of "tact" to which reference is made, are men who really lost the best influence of their lives by being trimmers. They won great standing and had honors heaped high upon them, of course; that is what trimming is for. But they never resolutely grappled with questions on which men were dividing. At crises they flinched or dodged. Like Orville Dewey in the civil war, they could not "take a part." And thus their example simply amounts to this, that the safe way to hold heretical views is to hold them in secret. If it is a question of transmuting opinion into life and influence, these men are cited with irrelevance.

The truth is, this praise of "tact" in theology is a part of the spirit of luxury which has invaded the Church just as it has the rest of society. The churches have had their eyes fixed on outward prosperity. They have had vast sums to dispose of in pushing their denominational propaganda. They have been racing with each other for

the control of the expanding West. Reports of churches organized and buildings erected and missionaries sent out and converts gained and legacies received have been the main thing of interest in ecclesiastical gatherings. Over and over again have prominent men in the churches risen to denounce doctrinal agitation, on the express ground that it interfered with the great "practical work" of the age. That is to say, nothing in the nature of inquiry after the truth must be allowed to disturb us. Here we want to build a cathedral, there endow a college, yonder erect a great denominational building, and we cannot stop to listen to theories.

Fortunately, men's minds cannot be forever repressed in that way. Investigation is the most "practical" thing in the world, and truth the most useful. And so, when the proper time comes, a church or a society that has long been saying to itself, "Thou hast much goods laid up for many years, eat, drink, and—act with 'tact,'" finds that it has been living in a fool's paradise. One right prophetic voice is enough to dispel the temporary delusion, and recall men to that pursuit of the truth which is at once their noblest and most unavoidable function.

#### "THE PRINCE OF WALES'S SET."

THE attack made by Sir Edward Clarke, the Solicitor-General, on Monday in court on the Prince of Wales is something unprecedented in either legal or political annals in England. It will be interesting to see whether Lord Salisbury will keep him in office after so bold a departure from established forensic usage. If Sir Edward should suffer in this way for his temerity, it will illustrate anew the inconvenience of having the law officers of the Crown retain their private practice, but it will also probably make him a hero and a martyr in the eyes of the Radicals. The risk he is running is certainly very great, for no English barrister's ambition is limited to the acquisition of a large practice. Success at the English bar is not success in the highest sense of the word unless it is marked by official promotion, through the Solicitor-Generalship and the Attorney-Generalship, to the Lord Chancellorship or other high judicial office—such as the Lord Chief Justiceship or one of the Lord Justiceships of Appeal. This promotion is, of course, in the gift of the Ministry of the day. Whatever the future may have in store in the way of ministerial indifference to royal susceptibilities, no Minister of either party has hitherto shown himself ready to disregard absolutely the personal objection of the Crown to a particular appointment. So that Sir Edward has literally taken his professional life in his hands in making the *retour offensif* directed against the Prince and his friends the Wilsons, with which he enlivened the proceedings on Monday.

That there was great danger of some such social earthquake has long been plain to everybody who has watched the Prince's career ever since he was first brought into court twenty years ago in the Mordaunt divorce case. It was then clear enough that the materials of great scandal were rapidly

accumulating about him, and that he would, unless he wholly changed his ways, become more and more dependent on the discretion of his friends to escape some damaging explosion as the years went on. But he could not change his ways. Neither his education, nor his mental powers, nor his place in the British hierarchy offered him assistance in abandoning the life of "a man of pleasure" which the English political and social conditions imposed on him almost as soon as he reached his majority. In fact, the hereditary monarchy in England at present provides no serious pursuit for the heir to the throne. The example set by his father, even when very young, of trying to teach English statesmen how to govern England, he could not follow, even if he had had his father's mental equipment. It would, in his father's case, have excited deep popular resentment had it been publicly known even between 1850 and 1860. Between 1880 and 1890 it would have been out of the question. The course of English politics during the last thirty years would have made the Prince of Wales's rôle purely ceremonial, even if the usages of constitutional monarchy and the Queen's continued health and activity did not do it.

A life of amusement, surrounded by idle men and women, was what circumstances marked out for him, and unfortunately his tastes fell in with his necessity. More unfortunately still, he became the most prominent figure in English society just as it was beginning to feel the effect of the great economic changes of the last thirty years. He has found himself beset, ever since his first youth, by a growing body of people like his friends the Wilsons, newly enriched in trade or commerce, and eager to get into court society, and to pay for it in cash or its equivalent in good living and good shooting and comfortable country quarters. These people have for years been making a dead set on him and his aristocratic companions, and they have for the last ten years captured them with increasing facility, owing to the impoverishment of the old landed gentry. It is the Wilson genus who now offer the best table, the best wines, the best preserves and deer forests, and can stand the heaviest losses at the card-table, and the Prince has fallen a victim to their fascinations. Given his easy temper, great love of good living and fun, and the conquest was easy.

The results have been pitiful. The conservative portion of the English public, and especially the Nonconformists, have long been pained by the rumors which have been afloat about the Prince's ways of passing his leisure hours, and about the kind of people he helps "to get into society," but they have gone on hoping for better things. This hopefulness about him, even when he has passed into the fifties, probably nobody but a "loyal Englishman" can understand fully. But no proper judgment can be passed on their connivance in or condonation of his weakness without remembering that, even if the belief in the divine right of kings be dead in England, the association

of the monarch, and of his family, with eight hundred years of liberty and glory, is still strong in the English imagination. The blood of Alfred the Great runs in the Prince's veins, and some one of his kith and kin has sat on the throne not only ever since England became great, but ever since it became England. The sternest English Republican is moved, and not ignobly moved, by considerations of this sort, and no right-minded man can help feeling some sympathy with those who are pained and shamed by finding that the heir to all these great memories goes about from one rich man's house to another, carrying with him a gambling "layout," and urging his hosts and their friends to play for high stakes games of chance which are forbidden by law even at the clubs and hotels. To be sure, they know that Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do, but they fervently wish he would make an exception in favor of the heir to the English throne.

The Wilsons, on whom Sir Edward Clarke has turned so savagely, are really no more to blame than probably fifty other families of similar antecedents whom the Prince has honored with his visits. In fact, they are probably less to blame, for theirs is very likely the only house in which the Prince has broken through the host's rule against baccarat. Moreover, if current reports have even slight foundation, very few baccarat parties at English country houses fail to contain at least one member on whom some suspicion of cheating occasionally rests. The temptation to the poor young men and the wicked old women who help to make them up, must every now and then be overwhelming. The mistake of the Wilsons was in allowing themselves to be thrown into a state of wild excitement by the chance of catching a Colonel in the Guards *en flagrant délit*. The occasion was for them a great one, and they either lost their heads over it, or else, as Sir Edward Clarke insinuates, had taken too much champagne at "a long dinner" at which they celebrated the victory of the Prince's horse at the Doncaster races.

If they had been older, or longer in the "Prince's set," they would have insisted on stopping the play the minute suspicion was uttered, and have got the whole party out of the house with as little noise as possible. Their procrastination, and especially their watching their own guest, of which they now seem ashamed, but which seems proved, furnished a terrible weapon to Cumming when he determined to sell his life dearly. One other weapon, hardly less effective, has been put into his hands by the written promise of secrecy. Two of the signers, the Prince and Gen. Owen Williams, are in the army as well as Cumming. When, therefore, Sir Charles Russell warned the jury that, even if they gave Cumming a verdict, the military authorities would be compelled to take the matter up, and perhaps strike his name from the army list, his counsel retorted with terrible force that the Prince and Gen. Williams would



in that case be in the same boat with him, because, in the eye of a court-martial, concealing the fact that a brother officer has been charged with dishonorable conduct makes a man *particeps criminis*. On the whole, the case furnishes one of the most interesting social and political studies in English annals. Cumming is ruined by the verdict, but he is not the only sufferer.

#### THOMAS PAINE'S IMPRISONMENT AND WASHINGTON.

NEW YORK, June 4, 1891.

"LEST I should forget it," writes Gouverneur Morris to Jefferson, "I must mention that Thomas Paine is in prison." The Americans in Paris, whom, as Joel Barlow says, Paine had often befriended, were not likely to forget that he was in prison. Morris was applied to, but seems to have been content that those who had been looking up to Paine as their minister should have a lesson. Jefferson had retired from the Cabinet, but Morris supposed him still there when he wrote about Paine. "I incline to think," he says (January 21, 1794), "that if he is quiet in prison he may have the good luck to be forgotten, whereas, should he be brought much into notice, the long-suspended axe might fall on him. I believe he thinks that I ought to claim him as an American citizen; but considering his birth, his naturalization in this country, and the place he filled, I doubt much the right, and I am sure that the claim would be, for the present, at least inexpedient and ineffectual."

In this announcement, which Morris barely remembered to make, he forgot to state that Paine had been imprisoned as a "foreigner." He had twice taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, had been outlawed in England for writing the 'Rights of Man,' had been invited as a foreigner to assist in founding a French Republic; his citizenship there was the honorary one conferred by the same decree on Washington; he was not "naturalized," had taken no oath of any kind; and his helping to frame a Constitution for France in a popular convention, where no Government existed, did not make him so much a French subject as Morris had become, before his appointment, by framing an official manifesto for the King. In saying that Paine, if quiet, was likely to be forgotten, Morris is conscious that the French Ministry had no charge against him, and the intimation that the axe had long been suspended over him is disproved by the fact that Barrière had shortly before consulted him on American affairs. That any reclamation he was likely to make, with such impressions, would be "inexpedient and ineffectual," Morris felt naturally "sure," and his casual note would be apt to prevent Jefferson from an interference that might bring down the axe on his friend. The next letter of Morris to Jefferson is dated March 6, 1794:

"Major Jackson—who, by the by, has not given me a letter from you which he says was merely introductory, but left it with the Comité de Sûreté Générale, as a kind of letter of credence—Major Jackson, relying on his great influence with the leaders here, stepped forward to get Mr. Paine out of jail, and with several other Americans [there were eighteen, all then in Paris] has presented a petition [to the Convention] to that effect, which was referred to that Committee and the Comité de Salut Public. This last, I understand, slighted the application as totally irregular; and some time afterwards Mr. Paine wrote me a note, desiring I would claim him as an American, which I accordingly did, though contrary to my judgment, for reasons mentioned in my

last. The Minister's letter to me of the 1st Ventose, of which I enclose a copy, contains the answer to my reclamation. I sent a copy to Mr. Paine, who prepared a long answer and sent it to me by an Englishman, whom I did not know. I told him, as Mr. Paine's friend, that my present opinion was similar to that of the Minister, but I might, perhaps, see occasion to change it, and in that case, if Mr. Paine wished it, I would go on with the claim, but that it would be well for him to consider the result; that if the Government meant to release him, they had already a sufficient ground; but if not, I could only push them to bring on his trial for the crimes imputed to him; seeing that whether he be considered as a Frenchman, or as an American, he must be amenable to the tribunals of France for his conduct while he was a Frenchman, and he may see in the fate of the Brissotins that to which he is exposed.

Morris speaks of "crimes imputed to him," though none was alleged except his being a "foreigner"; the hint, however, was enough to frighten Paine's friends and prevent their pressing his demand for a trial, which would have revealed then what the French archives now reveal—that Paine's papers were searched and pronounced innocent, and that no accusation was ever brought against him except that of Morris. The phrase "conduct while he was a Frenchman" is self-contradictory; had Paine ever been a Frenchman Morris could not have "reclaimed" him. And here rises the main point in the above letter of March 6. Morris says he had reclaimed Paine as an American. Of this reclamation no copy was sent to our Government and none to Paine. In the previous September (23d) Morris had notified Jefferson that he would not in future send copies of his various applications on account of the postage it would involve. Although his application to the French Minister, in the Paine matter, was only eight sentences, the economical resolution was adhered to. Washington and Randolph (who had succeeded Jefferson) had thus no opportunity of knowing just what Morris had written. My readers will be the first to discover Morris's idea of claiming a countryman. The letter (dated February 14) was written, I may remind the reader, to M. Deforgues, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had received from Morris his complaints of Paine's influence, and had signified to Morris that "our only aim has been to maintain between the two nations the most perfect harmony," and that steps about to be taken would confirm this.

"SIR,—Thomas Payne has just applied to me, for me to claim him as a Citizen of the United States. These (I believe) are the facts which relate to him: He was born in England. Having become a citizen of the United States, he acquired great celebrity there through his revolutionary writings. In consequence, he was adopted as French Citizen, and then elected Member of the Convention. His behaviour since this epoch is out of my jurisdiction. I am ignorant of the reason for his present detention in the Luxembourg prison, but I beg you, Sir, if there be reasons which prevent his liberation, and which are unknown to me, be so good as to inform me of them, so that I may communicate them to the Government of the United States. I have the honour to be, sir, your very humble servant,

"GOUV. MORRIS."

Five days later, February 19, was written the French Minister's reply:

"In your letter of the 26th of last month [Pluviôse] you reclaim the liberty of Thomas Payne, as an American Citizen. Born in England, this co-deputy has become successively an American and a French Citizen. In accepting this last title, and in occupying a place in the Legislative Corps, he submitted himself to the laws of the Republic, and has renounced the protection which the right of the people and treaties concluded with the United States could have assured him.

"I am ignorant of the motives of his deten-

tion, but I must presume they are well founded. I shall nevertheless submit the demand you have addressed me to the Committee of Public Safety, and I shall lose no time in letting you know its decision."

Postal economy did not prevent Morris from forwarding to Philadelphia this reply of M. Deforgues, obviously written for transmission. It seems impossible that without the aid of Morris the Frenchman could have discovered in his note the reclamation of Paine's liberty "as an American citizen" which his reply certifies. Morris's disclaimer of jurisdiction over Paine is complete. His volunteered certificate of the prisoner's French citizenship is complete. He is even careful to spell Paine's name in the French fashion, "Payne." He merely, and with cold formality, asks the reasons for the detention, which, of course, were entirely within French jurisdiction, whatever Paine's citizenship. He makes the French Minister's mind easy on this point by merely requesting of his goodness information to send his Government. The Minister need expect no further action on his part. That the reply of M. Deforgues was collusive is suggested not only by its certifying a reclamation not made, but in speaking of Paine as occupying a place in the Legislative Corps. No unaided French Minister could have described the Convention as a "Corps Législatif." The phrase is calculated for Philadelphia, where it might be supposed that the French Constitution, already adopted (August, 1793), had by that time resulted in an organized government, office in which would involve an oath of allegiance. The unreality of the Minister's reply to the note of Morris, then in Paris (though he lived at Saintport, five hours away), is further shown by the fact that the speedy further information he promises was never sent nor demanded.

"I applied to Mr. Morris," Paine wrote to Madison long after, "but I know not what he wrote to the French minister; whatever it was he concealed it from me." Morris sent the prisoner the Minister's refusal, but Paine's careful disproof of its positions was never sent to M. Deforgues, nor to Philadelphia, but was found by Jared Sparks buried away in Morris's papers. Sparks prudently withholds Morris's "application," which, he says, "it must be confessed was neither pressing in its terms, nor cogent in its arguments"; while he concurs with Paine's argument, which is given. (Life of G. Morris, i, p. 418). The case had been so arranged by Morris that, even had it been submitted to his Government for action, no reply could have come until the latter part of the year. But it was not so submitted. His real surrender of Paine kept secret, he declares to the Secretary of State, March 6 (a delay of eighteen days after Deforgues's reply), that he has claimed "Paine" as an American, and encloses the Minister's false assertion of the same. This letter of March 6 reached Philadelphia late in June, when Washington was at Mount Vernon. On June 25 the Secretary of State writes to Washington that he has received a letter from Morris, of March 6, saying "that he has demanded Paine as an American citizen, but that the Minister holds him to be amenable to the French laws." Washington and Randolph had no reason to doubt the bona-fide character of the reclamation, but in the instructions of Monroe, just starting for France to supersede Morris, care was enjoined to obtain redress for "injuries to the persons of our citizens." And on July 30 was written to Monroe a letter of which Washington's summary (Sparks x, p. 474) says: "We have heard with regret that several of our citizens have been thrown into prison in France, from a suspicion of criminal attempts

against the Government. If they are guilty we are extremely sorry for it; if innocent, we must protect them. Collect intelligence, and act promptly and decisively. Let your path, however, be clear. Archibald Hunter and Shubael Allen are two of the sufferers." That Paine is not mentioned could only be because of Morris's supposed reclamation; for when Monroe did reclaim Paine as an American citizen, the prison-door opening at the word, his action was warmly approved by the President, in a letter of March 8, 1795.

This official reclamation was all that the French Ministers had waited for. In his letter of March 6 Morris had stated, concerning the application of the Americans in Paris to the National Convention for Paine's release, that they had been referred to two committees, one of which "sighted the application as totally irregular." This, again, was misleading. The President of the Convention had addressed the Americans with a warm eulogy on Paine's works, but said that both America and France were in alliance against England, reminded them that Paine was born in England, and deplored that this "apostle of liberty" had not understood rightly the revolution that regenerated France. They were referred to the two committees, and that of Public Safety told them "that their reclamation of Paine was only the act of individuals, without any authority from the American Government." This, Morris reports to his Government as "sighted the application as totally irregular," suppressing the fact that the matter had been virtually referred by the Committee to himself. By pretending that afterwards he had officially reclaimed Paine, and been refused, he prevented all attempts to move the American Government; and as no order came from Philadelphia, and no further mention of the matter was made by Morris, the Ministry, after allowing full time for the President to intervene, came to the natural conclusion that the execution of Paine would be agreeable to Washington. The Committee of Public Safety determined imprisonments and executions. It was controlled at this time by Robespierre. Barrère, who was on it, afterwards apologized to Paine for signing the warrant, saying "he felt himself in danger, and was obliged to do it." Why then did Robespierre resolve on Paine's execution? M. Masson, historian of the French Department of Foreign Affairs during the Revolution, says (p. 275) that Robespierre was particularly anxious to recover for the republic the initiative of the alliance with the United States which was credited to the executed King; and "although their Minister, Gouverneur Morris, was justly suspected, and the American republic was at this time aiming only to utilize the condition of its ally, the French republic cleared it at a cheap rate of its debts contracted with the King." There is reason to believe that Morris would have taken Paine's place in prison had it not been for Robespierre's desire to accommodate an ally which, despite French remonstrances, insisted on keeping him there as its representative. Genêt, who had so annoyed Washington, had been demanded for punishment by France, and, as he could not be got, his friend Paine, whom Morris had connected with Genêt's offences, seemed a fair victim to offer in atonement. Robespierre then wrote the death-warrant "in the interests of America as much as of France." The execution was escaped by the usual chalk mark being accidentally made, in the night, on the door of Paine's cell when it was open and flat against the wall; when closed the mark was on the inside, and at day-

break the destroyer passed by. Paine was ill of a fever at the time, and probably the physician, who was most attentive, was with him. Or there may have been connivance, for Paine remembered the extreme kindness of all around him, including his jailer, and the lamplighter, who incurred a risk in taking a letter to Monroe. A few days later Robespierre was executed.

Monroe reached Paris August 3, but shared no better fate at the hands of Morris than the other Americans. Morris postponed the duty of arranging for his successor's reception so long that Monroe addressed himself directly to the Convention, which responded at once, and received him on August 28. It was the belief of Paine that Morris himself was all along in danger, and it is true that he preserved his official character as long as he could while preparing to leave the country. M. Masson, in his History already quoted, says that Morris pursued the unparalleled course of never presenting or receiving any letters of recall at all. He also, after Monroe's arrival, made the most of Washington's private letter declaring continued confidence in him—a letter which enabled him to enjoy a fine career amid the European courts. It took Monroe some time to undo all the knots tied by his predecessor around Paine. The Robespierrians, who still controlled the Committee of Public Safety, withheld from Monroe the sham reclamation, and intimated that nothing could be done without "instructions." Of course, our Government, assured that Paine had been demanded and refused, had given no instructions concerning him. Morris was still in Paris to assure Monroe, as he had assured Jefferson, that Paine had been naturalized in France, and it required a statement from Paine like that which Morris had suppressed to disprove this. At length, however, the Robespierrians were removed from the committees. On the 5th of November Monroe wrote to the President of the Committee of General Security; on the same evening that Committee and the Public Safety Committee, in joint session, read his letter proving Paine an American citizen; on the morning of the 6th the prisoner became a guest in Monroe's house. From December 28, 1793, to November 6, 1794, Paine had been imprisoned entirely out of respect to the supposed wish of the United States. No offence against France of any kind was ever charged, and there was no hour in which a word from his Government would not have released him.

The suppression by Morris and Deforgues of the sham reclamation had far effects. On September 20, 1795, Paine wrote a brief letter to Washington, meant as a demand for explanation: "I cannot understand your silence upon this subject upon any other ground than as connivance at my imprisonment; and this is the manner it is understood here, and will be understood in America, unless you will give me authority for contradicting it." Unfortunately one or two sentences of the letter were angry, and Washington did not reply. Paine's anger was not without justification, for he had letters of warm friendship from Washington, highly appreciating his services to America; and Washington's refusal to answer the angry note was not unnatural, for he never dreamed that Paine had not been fairly reclaimed by his Minister, soon after the imprisonment. This silence was followed by the long and bitter letter to Washington of August 3, 1796, which, while it injured Paine in America, has caused many of his adherents to denounce Washington for cruelty and treachery. Hitherto, such facts as had appeared

have been such as might have affected the reputation of Washington more seriously but for the unpopularity of the author of the 'Age of Reason.'

As Paine and Gouverneur Morris began their respective labors in Europe, so they continued. Gouverneur Morris, who wrote a manifesto for Louis XVI., went over to England, and there wrote another for Louis XVIII., assuming the throne of France; the two royal manifestoes by this American Minister may be read in his Life by Sparks. Paine on his liberation was invited back to his seat in the Convention, and went on trying to build the Republic.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

#### A RAILWAY CELEBRATION IN ASIA MINOR.

BILEDJIK, ANATOLIA, May 21, 1891.

A CEREMONY took place here yesterday that was very much out of the common for this part of the world, and as I was the only representative of Anglo-Saxondom present and participating, it seems fitting that I should give some account of it to American readers. It was a celebration of the completion of the Anatolian Railway to this place, which is about 200 miles east of Constantinople. Biledjik is the cradle of the Ottoman power, for near here was born the first Othman, son of Orthogrul, in the year 1259, and here took place the first crystallization of one of the most masterful races the world has ever seen.

The railway is an extension of the old Ismid (Nicomedia) line. The work is now going forward to Angora, some 500 miles east of Constantinople, under the auspices of a German syndicate, of which the Deutsche Bank of Berlin is the leading member. The syndicate bought the Ismid line and made a contract with the Turkish Government to extend it to Angora on or before October, 1892. The terms of the concession are that the syndicate shall own and operate the line for ninety-nine years under a fixed maximum tariff of charges, the Government guaranteeing an annual revenue of 15,000 francs gross per kilometre. The completed portion of the line already earns more than the guarantee. At the end of the ninety-nine years the whole property passes to the Government free of cost. As the early completion of the line is now assured, people are already talking of its extension to Bagdad, 1,000 miles beyond Angora, but no plans have been made beyond the latter point.

It was my good fortune to travel from Berlin to Constantinople in company with Herr Schrader, the representative of the railway syndicate, who is also a distinguished member of the German Reichstag. It was at his invitation that I joined the party which left Constantinople by special train for this place on Tuesday morning. The train consisted of three parlor-cars, one of which was a dining-car, two ordinary first-class cars of the European type, and one observation car attached to the rear of the train. The turn-out was not so gorgeous as that which took President Harrison on his ten-thousand-mile tour, but it was ample for the intended journey. The party consisted of two Turkish pashas of the highest rank, one of whom is the Minister of Public Works, a number of subordinates wearing the fez, some of whom were of German birth, twenty or thirty German gentlemen who had received Herr Schrader's invitation, two German ladies, residents of Constantinople, and the writer of this correspondence. The train hands were all Turks, including the engine-driver. These functionaries all wore the fez, together with blue coats and white trousers,



but the conductor of the train wore a stove-pipe hat, a dress coat, and black trousers—in short, full evening dress. The pashas and their entourage wore uniforms corresponding to their military rank, and all of them spoke French; some of them spoke German also.

The Anatolian land for about 150 miles is as beautiful, fertile, and well tilled as any country I have ever seen. It is well wooded and watered, and has excellent roads—much better than American country roads in general. But the habitations of the people are wretched, consisting for the most part of low, straw-thatched hovels, fit only for swine. In the larger towns the houses rise to the dignity of two, three, and even four stories, but they are unpainted, tumble-down structures, and have a gaping and jejune look in marked contrast to the smiling aspect of the surrounding natural world. The domestic animals, on the other hand, are sleek and well cared for. Herds of handsome, long-haired goats browse on the hills. Cows, bullocks, and buffaloes are seen everywhere and occasionally a camel.

The donkey is the ubiquitous beast of burden. There is no kind of movable property that he does not carry to and fro in the streets and up and down the mountains. If you want meat, you buy it from the back of a donkey; if you want water, you pour it from his back; if you want wood, you get it by the same conveyance. If you have to build a house, the donkey will bring on his back all the bricks and stone and mortar and lumber you require, and will afterwards bring the furniture. If you are building an Alpine railway, this little creature will carry the sand to mix with your cement up a zigzag path two thousand feet high from the streamlet at the base of the mountain, and if water is scarce, he will carry that also; all of which we saw at or near this place. One donkey train that I met was carrying kerosene oil in tin cans marked, "Double Refined Petroleum, Batoum." American petroleum destined for this place would not come by the way of Batoum, so it occurred to me that Russian petroleum destined for Biledjik and the vicinity was marked with English characters, to which the natives are accustomed; this being a slight deception which may not involve any pecuniary disadvantage to them.

The principal natural productions of the country are wheat, barley, wool, silk, and the opium poppy. Some tobacco is grown, but this is not the chief sort of that branch of Turkish industry. Vineyards are numerous, and the wine produced is of good quality. Much of it is exported to France, and is there transformed into Bordeaux claret by some slight and not deleterious changes. Very likely it comes back here and is supplied to the hotels and restaurants of Constantinople. The Mussulman population in the rural districts never touch wine or any form of alcoholic drink. But the Mussulman population, I should judge, is not the most numerous part of the inhabitants hereabouts—the Greeks and Armenians preponderating. They live together in perfect harmony, so far as one can see, and I am assured that religious intolerance does not exist. Bigotry there is undoubtedly on both sides, or rather on all sides, but not intolerance. The Greek type of physiognomy is strongly marked, and is easily recognized by any one familiar with ancient sculpture. I saw a girl in the Greek quarter of Stamboul the other day whose face might have served as a model for the Venus of Milo. She was buying a piece of meat from the back of a donkey, and she gave me a glance as I passed that brought back dreams of Anacreon from my college days.

The last fifty miles of our journey was through a mountainous district, which included one precipitous defile of a very picturesque character. The road rises at a pretty heavy grade, following the windings of a stream, of slaty color, like those of the Alps and of the Rocky Mountains. There are numerous short tunnels and high bridges, the latter of iron or of stone exclusively. When we arrived at Biledjik station we were met by carriages, which took us to the town, which is about two miles distant, and at a still greater elevation. I should say that we ascended between one and two thousand feet in this winding but excellent carriage drive. Here we found a smart Turkish town planted on the mountain ridges, the houses rising one above the other, and the streets narrow and hummocky, like those of Stamboul. At the end of one of these streets we were received at the headquarters of the railway construction forces, where we were regaled with Strassburg beer and Gruyère cheese, and music from a Berlin piano. We were next escorted to the Town Hall, where we received the usual treat of coffee served in tiny cups, after which we were severally presented to the chief functionary of the place, who invited us to inspect the manufactures of Biledjik. These consisted chiefly of upholstery goods, of Oriental designs, extremely beautiful and very durable as well. There are many luxurious houses in America whose chairs and sofas are covered with the fabrics of Biledjik or other towns of Asia Minor, the owners probably thinking that they have come from Paris or Brussels.

After some time spent in this way we were taken back to the valley, where we passed the night in houses erected by the railway people to serve as models and examples for the inhabitants of the country, the object being to stimulate their wants. The first want to be stimulated here is that of decent lodgings. Before retiring I had the curiosity to look through the grounds of the Biledjik railway station to see what sort of traffic the line had developed. To my surprise I found hundreds of tons of wheat piled up in sacks and covered with tarpaulins. I had forgotten that this is the native country of the wheat plant. Thirty or forty yoke of buffaloes and bullocks were lying on the ground, beside their carts, chewing their cuds. Some of the drivers were sleeping in the open air on the sacks. The next day we saw hundreds more of these teams coming along the valley road from the upper country similarly laden. If this is done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? Will not Asia Minor, when provided with railways, become a formidable competitor of America in the wheat markets of the world? Of this I think there can be no doubt.

The next morning we were out early, prepared for a walk and an inspection of railway-building in the mountains of Asia Minor. I will acknowledge that if I had known beforehand what it meant, I should have declined my share of it. An Alpine journey of six kilometres along a goat path, not wholly free from danger, and under a blazing sun, is not suited to my time of life—at least I supposed so, but I find myself none the worse for it. Herr Schrader's inspection of the work in hand was not by any means a formality. Everything visible was examined, so far as this could be done without instruments of precision. All the tunnel work and bridge work was closely inspected, and the German engineers interrogated upon every essential point. The structure seemed to me to be as solid and thorough as possible, while the difficulties of engineering are as great as any that I have ever ob-

served except some sections of the Canadian Pacific Railway and of the higher Swiss lines.

The skilled workmen are mostly Italians, the common laborers being natives of the country. I asked one of the engineers how the latter compared with German laborers of the same class. "Better," he replied; "they don't drink, don't shirk, don't strike. They are as strong as Europeans and as quick to learn. We have no fault to find with them. They are happy and contented because they are getting good wages, steady work, and sure pay." There are 5,000 of these men now employed between Biledjik and Angora, all the sections of the line being under simultaneous construction.

Our journey of inspection lasted three hours, and was concluded at another Turkish town called Kupptu, or Kubla. I adopted the latter name for private use, in honor of the Khan who did in Xanadu a stately pleasure-dome decree. I was told by one of the German wearers of the fez that it would be impossible to write the name of the town in exact English. Therefore Kubla will answer as well as anything. The resources of Kubla had been drawn upon to prepare a banquet for us. It was given in a large wooden building tastefully decorated with the foliage of the country. The tables were arranged in the form of a parallelogram. The Turkish Minister of Public Works took the head of the table. The menu was as follows:

Cold meats, including fresh lobster from the Bosphorus.	Beer from Marseilles.
Foie de foie gras.	
Fish, boiled.	Rhine wines of several sorts.
Chicken fri-cassé.	Giesshübler water.
Roast turkey.	Bordeaux wines.
Green peas.	[This was served as a separate course as a signal for toasts.]
Roast lamb.	
Asparagus.	
Champagne.	
Ice cream.	
Coffee.	

It will be noticed that, although the Turks in general do not drink wine, they provide it liberally for their guests. They make an exception in favor of champagne when the Sultan's health is proposed. At all events our Turks did, one of the Pashas leading off and himself proposing the toast, which he responded to in the German language. There were half-a-dozen speeches made, most of them in German, one being in French and one in Turkish. The dinner lasted two hours, and was "a grand success." The theme of all the discourse was the regeneration of Turkey by railways, which the Minister assured us was one of the things nearest the Sultan's heart. And well it may be, for if Turkey can have a few years of peace and internal development, her strength will be greatly augmented. A gentleman who knows the country said to me that if this development had been begun twenty-five years ago and steadily prosecuted, as it will now be prosecuted, Turkey would be able to defend herself against Russia single-handed. Even as things now are, the country will cut no mean figure in the next European conflict, if Constantinople is the objective point, as most people think it will be. I read in a Paris newspaper, the other day, a long and reductive article, showing how much it would be for Turkey's interest to remain neutral in the next clash of arms. Turkey, this writer said, could put 500,000 excellent and well-armed soldiers in the field. These would guarantee her against attack as long as she remained neutral. By remaining neutral she would win the friendship of Russia, etc., etc. The Turkish statesmen may be trusted to know on which side their bread is buttered,

when the time comes. They want peace, but they know that it is to be had only by the utmost preparation for war. The present Sultan is so far progressive that he gives his confidence and support to a wise and progressive Prime Minister, Kiamil Pasha, whose efforts for the internal development of Turkey are worthy of the highest praise.

What Turkey needs most of all and finds most difficult to get is civil-service reform. Her natural resources are great, and capital will be found to develop them as fast as security and the regular administration of law are afforded. Her common people have lost none of their old-time vigor, courage, and alertness. The "sick man" is not so sick as Czar Nicholas imagined forty years ago, but the internal government of the country is still shockingly bad—perhaps no worse, however, than that of Russia. What difficulties stand in the way of civil-service reform we in America know full well. How much greater must they be in a country which has never been trained to self-government, does not know what it means, and which has no organized public opinion. Cutting off the heads of corrupt officials would avail nothing without a supply of honest ones to draw upon. The only salvation of Turkey is education. It was education that built up Bulgaria, and this was afforded by the (American) Robert College, which looks down upon the waters of the Bosphorus. There are now hundreds of schools in the Turkish Empire that owe their origin to American missionary zeal. The Turkish Government has been stimulated by the example, and now schools are abundant in Constantinople for both boys and girls. What they may be doing elsewhere I am not informed.

But this letter is not intended as an essay on Turkey in general. The railway enterprise now on foot, which will soon be completed to the ancient battle-ground of Bajazet and Tamerlane, is a great civilizer in itself. Those who may look twenty-five years hence upon the country it traverses will see a wonderful transformation.

HORACE WHITE.

#### GENERAL MARBOT.

PARIS, May 28, 1891.

GENERAL MARBOT was one of the minor stars of the Napoleonic time; he often approached the great Emperor, he served on the staff of five of his marshals, Bernadotte, Augereau, Murat, Lannes, and Masséna. I knew that he had written memoirs, for I had often heard stories which had been read in the original manuscript by the Duc d'Aumale. Marshal Canrobert was also one of the happy few who knew these curious memoirs. They are now published, somewhat to my surprise, for I thought that they never would be, and that they would be read only in the two copies which exist in manuscript. King Louis Philippe surrounded his children, who were all destined for the army, with the generals who had served in the campaigns of Napoleon, with the survivors of the Grande Armée; and Marbot, who was for eleven years the aide-de-camp of the eldest of his sons, the Duc d'Orléans, assumed in their eyes almost epic proportions. It is not surprising when we read now what these men did between 1800 and 1815; their history is like a dream, it is an *Odyssey* and an *Iliad* at the same time. They will some day, when history becomes a mere legend, appear like the heroes of the Round Table, like the famous *preux* of Charlemagne.

Marbot was born on the 18th of August,

1782, at the little castle of Larivière, where lived his father on the banks of the Dordogne, on the frontier of Limousin and Quercy (now the Department of Corrèze). His family, though it bore no title nor any *particule*, was noble—that is to say, lived nobly, which at the time meant that it lived on its own revenue, without exercising any industry. Not far from the Marbots lived a family called De Certain, which counted Saint-Roch among its ancestors. Marshal Canrobert, the only remaining marshal in the French Army with Marshal MacMahon, is issued from these Certains; his name is really De Certain de Canrobert, though he always had himself called simply Canrobert. (His only daughter was married not long ago, and she was called in the *faire-part* Mademoiselle de Certain de Canrobert.) Canrobert was the name of a small estate belonging to the family of Certain.

Marbot was very young when the Revolution broke out. His father became a member of the Legislative Assembly, but the greater part of his relations emigrated. While his father was in the army in the Pyrenees, his mother took him to Rennes, where he remained four years. His father, having been put at the head of the army at Toulouse, sent for him and placed him in the school at Sorèze, the only great military school which the Revolutionary Government had preserved. During his short visit to his father, he saw his father's aides-de-camp Augereau and Lannes, who were both destined to become marshals.

"Augereau, after having emerged from the prisons of the Inquisition at Lisbon, had just fought in La Vendée, where he had been noticed for his courage and his facility in handling troops. He was a very good tactician, having learned the science in Prussia, where he had long served in the footguards of the Great Frederick. He was called the Great Prussian. He had an irreproachable military *toune*, always *tiré à quatre épingles*, powdered, a long queue, great top boots very shiny, a very martial bearing. . . . Lieut. Lannes was a lively young Gascon, witty, without education or training, but desirous of learning at a time when nobody was."

The school at Sorèze had been founded after the Jesuits had been turned out of France. The Jesuits had always claimed the privilege of educating the French youth; the Benedictines wished to prove that they could be good educators. Sorèze became very prosperous; the Benedictines were so popular that when all the property of the Convent was sold, the principal, Dom Ferlus, was allowed by his neighbors to buy Sorèze and its immense estates for a nominal sum, and all went on as before. The monks dressed like laymen, and the name of *citizen* replaced the name of *Dom*. Dom Ferlus even affected some revolutionary zeal. "The walls were covered with republican sentences. It was forbidden to pronounce the word *monsieur*. The boys went to commons or to walk singing the 'Marseillaise' or other republican hymns." Sorèze had been from the beginning a military school at which horsemanship, the art of fortification, and drilling were taught. The boys became very enthusiastic on hearing the account of the victories of the republican armies.

Marbot left Sorèze at the age of sixteen, and joined his father in Paris, where he commanded the Seventeenth Military Division. In 1799 the Republic was still in existence; there was a Directory of five men, a Council of Ancients, and a Council of Five Hundred. Gen. Marbot received many people; his son made the acquaintance of Gen. Bernadotte, of Joseph and Lucien Bonaparte, of Mme. Bonaparte, etc. Everybody felt that a change was imminent. Sieyès was looking for a general who could take in hand the reins of government. Bona-

parte seemed marked by destiny, but he was at the time in Egypt; Masséna was a good soldier, but no politician; Moreau was lazy; Sieyès determined on choosing Bonaparte. He sounded Gen. Marbot, but received no encouragement; Marbot resigned the command of the military division of Paris, and asked for an active division. He was sent to the army of Italy.

The destiny of young Marbot was then fixed; his father made him a hussar in a regiment which formed part of the division that he was to command in Italy. Young Marbot was very proud of wearing for the first time, on the 3d of September, 1799, the uniform of the famous hussars of Berchiny. The journey was made without any other incident than the meeting of Marbot and Gen. Bonaparte at Lyons. Bonaparte was coming from Egypt unexpectedly, having been recalled by a letter from Sieyès. The meeting of the two generals was cold. Marbot was leaving Paris because he would not be the instrument of a *coup d'état*; Bonaparte was eager to make this *coup d'état*. The hussars of Berchiny, now called the First Hussars, wore the queue, two long tresses of hair falling on both sides of the face, and long moustaches. Young Marbot had the face of a girl; he was obliged to wear a false queue, false tresses, and to paint two long moustaches on his face with the blacking which served for the boots. He had also to fight a duel, in order to conform to the rules of the regiment. But he did not wait long to see war in earnest. His father was under Masséna during the famous siege of Genoa. Young Marbot saw all the horrors of this siege, and he saw his father wounded and dying of typhus fever. He lived several years, he says, during the two mortal months of the siege. The heroic resistance of Masséna allowed Bonaparte to cross the Alps and to arrive in Italy, where he fell on the rear of the Austrian army. He did not arrive in time to save Masséna, but Masséna had resisted long enough to enable him to win the battle of Marengo.

Marbot and another officer were sent from Genoa to Bonaparte and joined him in Milan. The First Consul spoke to young Marbot of the loss he had sustained during the siege. "He promised to be a father to me, and he kept his word." Marbot went with him to Montebello and afterwards to Marengo. The French were on the point of being beaten, "and they probably would have been if the 20,000 men of the corps of Ott [who had besieged Genoa] had arrived in time on the field of action. The First Consul, who was in constant dread of seeing them appear, was very sad, and only became gay again when our cavalry and the infantry of Gen. Desaix, whose death he was still ignorant of, decided the victory by breaking through the Austrian grenadiers of Gen. Zach." Marbot was afterwards aide-de-camp *à la suite* of Gen. Bernadotte. He does not give a very flattering portrait of the man who was afterwards to mount the throne of Sweden. Bernadotte formed in Tours the reserve of the army of Portugal, which country, helped by England, had declared war on Spain. Marbot left the staff of Bernadotte and joined a regiment in the army of Portugal. He went from Nantes to Bordeaux and to Salamanca, where he remained several months till the Prince of Peace, who had called the French into Spain, became alarmed by their presence and concluded a treaty of peace with Portugal, without consulting the French Consul. He succeeded in having this treaty ratified by the Ambassador of France, Lucien Bonaparte. The First Consul was very angry, and this was the beginning of his misunderstanding with his brother Lucien.



The French Army recrossed the Pyrenees, and Marbot was sent to Brittany. He gives some curious details on a military conspiracy which is called the conspiracy of Rennes. The real chiefs of it were Bernadotte and Moreau, both jealous of the high position which had been attained by the First Consul and by the small place which he had given to them in the conduct of the public affairs; but they kept in the background—the generals and colonels of the army of Brittany took the lead. Several regiments were to make a pronunciamiento in Rennes, and all the divisions were to follow. An accident caused the police of the First Consul to become cognizant of the conspiracy; some arrests were made, and the pronunciamiento did not take place. The First Consul sent the discontented regiments to San Domingo, where almost all the men died of yellow fever. Marbot was appointed aide-de-camp to Gen. Augereau, and what he tells of the early history of this general is certainly as extraordinary as any novel. Pierre Augereau was born in Paris, in 1757, his father being a fruiterer. He entered at the age of seventeen the regiment of carbiniers of Monsieur, and became a non-commissioned officer. He had to fight several duels, as duels were at that time a mania in all regiments. Some of the regiments had traditional rivalries, which had from time to time to be satisfied in this way. There was an old feud of this sort between the gendarmes of Lunéville and the carbiniers. A duel had to be fought, and ten of the best swordsmen of the carbiniers were chosen; they drew lots, and out came the name of a non-commissioned officer named Donnadiou; Augereau observed that Donnadiou was a married man with five children, and was allowed to take his place. His adversary was a professional duellist; he had killed a few days before two sergeants of the Gardes Françaises. The provocation took place in a café. Augereau had his cup before him. The gendarme came in and sat on the little table, turning his back on Augereau. Augereau took his coffee-cup and emptied it on the gendarme's uniform. The gendarme, on the way to the place of combat, asked him: "Where do you wish to be buried; in town or in the country?" "In the country," said Augereau; "I have always liked fresh air." Augereau kept very calm during the duel; his adversary became more and more enraged, till finally he made a false movement. Augereau passed his sword through him, and said: "You shall be buried in the country."

It would be difficult to imagine a more checkered life than that of Augereau. One of the officers struck him; he killed him in self-defence, fled, went to Geneva, to Constantinople, to the Crimea. He served in the army of Suvaroff, was wounded in the assault on Ismail, served afterwards in the guards of the Great Frederic, became a dancing and a fencing master in Dresden, and returned to France after the general pardon given to all deserters on the occasion of the marriage of Louis XVI. He recovered his grade in the French Army, was sent to Naples as instructor, married the daughter of a Greek merchant, fled with her to Lisbon, was thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition, was set at liberty and returned to France, was appointed captain, and served in Brittany and in Italy, and became a general.

## Correspondence.

OF CONSEQUENCE, 'CONSEQUENTLY.'  
TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: My letter in No. 1349 contains a state-

ment on which I wish to make a remark. I there express a strong suspicion that Boswell, in reporting the conversation of Dr. Johnson, should not have represented him as saying "of consequence," instead of "by consequence." But a mislaid memorandum, just found, refers me to the following passage in a letter from Dr. Johnson to Boswell, dated April 8, 1780: "Do not lose sight of her; your countenance may be of great credit, and of consequence of great advantage to her." Not improbably, there ought to be a comma after "consequence," in which case it would be one with "importance"; but this is not at all probable. More likely, Boswell put "of" for "by." Passing by numerous far earlier writers, I am aware that the "of consequence" in question was used by Cowper, Thomas Tyrwhitt, and Southey, before 1800; that it has, since then, been used by Sir James Mackintosh, James Mill, Sir Walter Scott, Bentham, William Godwin, etc., etc.; and that it abounds in the pages of Goldsmith, among Dr. Johnson's contemporaries. For something like a century, or upwards, I may add, it has, apparently, been more freely favoured by Scotch writers than by English. At present it is a vulgarism.—Your obedient servant,

F. H.

MARLESFORD, ENGLAND, May 20, 1891.

### THE OBJECTIVE POINT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In conversation yesterday with perhaps the best-known member of Congress from Massachusetts, I was bitterly reproached with devotion to English political methods, and exhorted to return to the true American way. In reply I urged the distinction between principles and methods. The principle of personal responsibility and leadership is no more distinctively English than it is Dutch or Japanese. The method of applying that principle which I advocate is just as different from the English and just as much American as any of the political expedients employed by Mr. —.

The Marquis of Salisbury has been making a speech at Glasgow, in which he said that Parliament has two functions—that of doing business and that of making ministries—and lamented that its action upon the former was always governed by its effect upon the latter. Now Congress would, or need, have no more power in making the Cabinet having seats on the floor than it has now, except indirectly through an appeal to the people, and it would be quite as likely to hurt as help its case by factious opposition to business measures supported by the Government. The Cabinet would hold a more independent and dignified position than the British Ministry, and it is precisely for that reason that Congress refuses to listen to any such proposition. Though each member, in fact, represents only a single district of a single State, he thinks he represents the people of the United States just as much as the President or the Cabinet, and don't want to see around him in Congress any but those who fully share his sentiments.

I cannot let this occasion pass without quoting again from your last week's issue. Speaking of the Farmers' Alliance and similar popular movements, you say:

"They grope about like lost travellers in a thick forest, give us laughable expositions of political economy, satirize history as to money questions, and make their platforms the oddest jumble of good and bad 'issues.' . . . But was anything very different to be expected from a class of voters isolated from contact with affairs, not given to reading, and who for a quarter of a century have been more stirred by sentimental memories of the war than by the crushing material burdens of a war tariff?"

I go further and say that you cannot expect and will not get anything different from any class of voters, the most competent of business and professional men in cities, so long as they are left to frame their "issues" in mass meeting. You can get only the same result from Congress itself, so long as that body consists of 330 precisely equal members without official guide or leaders of any kind, though that result may of course be modified by skilled manipulators on behalf of private interests. There must be some high officials whom the nation can look to as its agents, and personally responsible not to Congress, as the British Ministry is to Parliament, but to the people at large, who shall be ready to receive all such propositions and put them in a shape either to stand the test of public cross-examination or to be exposed and overthrown by it. Mr. Gladstone once expressed this by saying that he was like a cloud, drawing ideas like moisture from the people in the form of vapor and returning them in the form of rain. G. B.

Boston, June 6, 1891.

## Notes.

G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS will publish directly 'Church and Creed,' three sermons by the Rev. R. Heber Newton. They have also in press the third volume of the Talleyrand Memoirs and 'The Living World: Whence It Came, and Whither It Is Drifting,' by Prof. H. W. Conn of Wesleyan University.

Henry Holt & Co. announce a 'History of the Politics of the State of New York,' by Prof. Charles H. Levermore of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology—a work which promises much by its title, and ought to provoke a series on the same line for each of the States, though not a made-to-order series. They have also in press 'On the Stage—and Off,' by Jerome K. Jeroma.

Mr. Geo. O. Seibamer, 112 North Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, will speedily publish the third volume of his four-volume 'History of the American Theatre,' entitled 'New Foundations.'

Benj. R. Tucker, Boston, has nearly ready 'What's Bred in the Bone,' a novel by Grant Allen; and a translation of the late Karl Heinzen's 'Rights of Women and the Sexual Relations.'

J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, have nearly ready the seventh volume of 'Chambers's Encyclopedia,' which carries the work to the title Pearson.

Charles E. Merrill & Co. have postponed publication of the two volumes of Ruskin's Poems until after July 1, in order to take advantage of the new Copyright Law. The poems are chronologically arranged, and dated by the author's age.

'Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher' is the subject of a work by Prof. Jones of University College, which will be issued by Macmillan & Co.

The Historical Printing Club, 97 Clark Street, Brooklyn, issue in a limited edition 'Wills of George Washington and his Immediate Ancestors,' with much related matter.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. have just completed a new edition of Dickens's Complete Works in fifteen and thirty volumes, illustrated after Phiz, Chruikshank, etc., but having also "65 new cuts from etchings from Faithorne contained in no other edition." Either sets or single volumes may be purchased.

Dickens literature is enriched by the publication of a revised and enlarged edition of a book issued privately in 1883, 'The Childhood and

Youth of Charles Dickens,' with retrospective notes and elucidations from his books and letters, by Robert Langton (Scribner). The author has been an indefatigable inquirer into the early life of Dickens, and has succeeded in tracing the movements and dwelling-places of the family, the schools and early London life of the novelist, the servants, obscure companions, and in general all the youthful surroundings amid which Dickens grew up; and the result of his labors is to correct Forster's 'Life' in several details, to increase our knowledge of Dickens's originals, and to identify many of the descriptions of places and the names in the works. He divides the subject into three convenient parts: first he narrates the life of Dickens up to the date of his beginning to write; secondly, he describes Gad's Hill; and thirdly, he passes each of the works in review to determine anything autobiographical in its pages. There is a full index, and the pages are plentifully besprinkled with illustrations of the scenes, buildings, curiosities, etc., natural to such a volume.

A selection from the poems and prose writings of Leigh Hunt, in the beautiful though too small type of the Temple Library (London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan), is edited by Reginald Brinsley Johnson and adorned with a portrait and small etchings which add to its attractiveness. The introduction is by the hand of an admirer of Hunt, and sufficient in information, but it might well have been more critical and have taken more the character of a literary portrait. The selection is very good, but Hunt wrote with much the same style and matter always, and hence selection does him little service. In poetry one sees almost too plainly how very thin his talent was, and how very irritating to a man of taste his defects in composition were. The verses are really most valuable for the light they throw on Keats's first style. In prose there is little that deserves to survive. Neither Hunt nor Hazlitt reached the excellence and charm that keep an essayist alive in literature, and they were distanced by Lamb, who remains, both in the critical essay of literary taste and in the light social essay, the only master of his time. No one, however, who loves books will begrudge space on his shelves for these two pretty volumes in memory of such a friend of books and authors as Hunt.

The second volume of the new Cambridge Shakespeare (Macmillan), reëdited by Mr. Wright, requires only the mention that so beautiful and cheaply issued an edition deserves in order to recommend it to the public as much as it is already recommended by its own merit to scholars. It will continue to be issued one volume each quarter, and any one who wishes a library Shakspeare cannot do better than purchase at this easy rate.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the second and last volume of the new edition of Dr. W. Smith's 'Dictionary of Antiquities,' just issued (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.), is the ten-page Appendix, in which the fresh doctrine afforded by the newly discovered Aristotle papyrus is set forth so far as it corrects or confirms statements made in the body of the work. The material is discussed under about fifty subjects, alphabetically, and the names of H. Hager, W. Wayte, and G. E. Marindin are sufficient vouchers for the sagacity and discretion with which the revision has been made.

Mr. John R. Howard has taken from the volume of 'Patriotic Addresses by Henry Ward Beecher in America and England from 1850 to 1855,' published four years ago, his own prefatory review of Mr. Beecher's life, and

made a separate volume of it—'Henry Ward Beecher: A Study of his Personality, Career, and Influence in Public Affairs' (Fords, Howard & Hulbert). Several portraits are inserted.

We are glad to observe that a twenty-fifth cent edition of Mr. Henry George's 'Protection or Free Trade?' has been put on the market (New York: Henry George & Co., 42 University Place). It would be hard to name a work better adapted to serve as an introduction to the controversy.

A grandniece of James G. Birney has offered a prize of one hundred dollars for the best contribution to American history by a resident student of the Johns Hopkins University. The competing manuscripts must be submitted to Prof. H. B. Adams on or before May 1, 1892.

The current *University Circular* of the same institution contains an extended analysis of the important historical collection lately bestowed by Col. John Thomas Scharf. Though it is richest and most extensive in the Southern field, the New York and Pennsylvania sections are extremely valuable.

In the June *Forum* Mr. Henry Holt forecasts the operation of the new Copyright Law. He thinks that when the habit of paying foreign authors for their books is revived, it will extend even to works which they do not copyright, as was the practice in the period from about 1860 to 1876. There will be some books that will not pay for type-setting here that will tempt the pirates, but they will, in Mr. Holt's judgment, be so few that the worst element in the publishing trade will be driven out of business. He is even more sanguine than this, for he expects the new law to revive the book-buying habit, and to divert the American citizen from the great shops and the news-stands to the bookstores. We are going to pay more money for good books instead of paying less money for bad pamphlets. And, after all, although the price of first editions will be higher, the books will be made better; and books that prove popular will be furnished at popular prices.

A timely paper on "International Liabilities for Mob Injuries," by Prof. E. W. Hufcutt of the Law Faculty of Indiana University, will appear in the July *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

*University Extension* will be the title of the new journal devoted to the movement which goes by that name. Its headquarters are with the American Society at No. 1602 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

*Pantobiblion* is a new monthly magazine which cannot be overlooked by a certain class of students and workers. It is an "international bibliographical review of the world's scientific literature," edited (apparently from St. Petersburg) by A. Kersha, and published in various places (New York: D. Appleton & Co.). The first section is an elaborate classified register of new books; the second, brief critical notices, generally in the language of the book itself—and some fifteen languages are thus involved; the third, tables of contents of current scientific periodical literature, which will hereafter be followed by critical reviews of leading articles and by a scientific miscellany. This is a very remarkable programme, and as a co-operative scheme a great curiosity. The English portion, apart from the division of words, is generally very correctly printed.

We have received from E. Rouveyre, Paris, the April and May issues of the 'Petit Manuel du Bibliophile et du Libraire,' of which we have already spoken as a collector's guide to the current value of old and new books, en-

gravings, etc. The first volume will be complete in two more numbers.

*Sun and Shade* for June (New York: Photo-Gravure Co.) furnishes plates above the average in interest and execution. We remark portraits from life of Miss Marlowe, the actress, and of Mr. R. Swain Gifford, together with one of the latter's characteristic paintings, "The Glen"; a view of the *Tribune* and *World* Buildings from the top of the *Times* Building; Meissonier's "1807," etc.

Our recent mention of a setting to music of a poem by Whittier has brought us the reminder of a much earlier instance, viz., of his "Laus Deo." The composer was Mr. F. Boott, and the publishers Oliver Ditson & Co., in 1868.

That clever woman, the wife of Count L. N. Tolstoi, the author, recently made a successful business trip to St. Petersburg. She secured an audience with the Emperor, who was extremely amiable to her, and promised to protect her husband from all the annoyances to which the Committee of Censors has been subjecting him.

Capt. Stairs, one of Mr. Stanley's officers in his last expedition, and an American by birth, is about to return to Africa in the interests of the Anglo-Belgian Katanga Company. This has been organized for the purpose of occupying Katanga, a native kingdom lying in the southeastern corner of the vast territory included in the Congo Free State. It is a part of the high plateau which forms the watershed between the Congo and the Zambesi, and its especial value consists in its copper, which is said to be very abundant. Mr. F. S. Arnot, who established a mission in the kingdom five years ago, describes the malachite as being found in large quantities on the tops of certain bare, rugged hills. The natives dig little round shafts seldom deeper than fifteen or twenty feet. Traders come for the copper, and also for salt, in which the country is also very rich, from the east and west coasts and from as far north as Uganda. Dr. Livingstone, who died not far from its southeastern frontier, refers to it in his 'Last Journals' as a gold-producing country. It is understood that two other Belgian expeditions are on the way to the same region, into which, until very recently, Europeans could not enter without great difficulty, only two having succeeded up to the time of Mr. Arnot's visit in 1886.

The summer session of the School of Applied Ethics will be held at Plymouth, Mass., beginning on July 1. We have already called attention to it as quite the most promising of such gatherings. It will have three departments—of Economics (in charge of Prof. H. C. Adams), History of Religions (in charge of Prof. C. H. Toy), and Ethics (in charge of Prof. Felix Adler). In this last the Indian question will be discussed under several heads by Prof. J. B. Thayer and Mr. Herbert Welsh. Communications should be addressed to Prof. Adams, at 1602 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

The sum of nine thousand dollars is needed to secure the purchase (at \$80,000) of the Morse collection of Japanese pottery, now on deposit at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for that institution. There is but one judgment of the rank of this collection, in comparison with any and all those of the great Continental museums, or with those of the British Museum and South Kensington combined. Its historical and artistic merits are alike extraordinary, and it would be a great pity if it should leave the country, or should even not be retained where it now is. Subscriptions may be sent to Mr. Henry L. Pierce, 159 State Street, Boston.



—A history of the island of Antigua, in the West Indies, is now in preparation by Mr. Vere Langford Oliver, an English gentleman of independent fortune, who has for some time past been engaged upon his hobby of tracing out the pedigrees of some two hundred and thirty families connected with that island. As many of our American families are sprung from early settlers in the West Indies, not a few persons will find in the forthcoming work materials for genealogies. The Olivers themselves, of whom the author is one, were not only of Antigua, but also of Dorchester, Mass. In like manner the Pryns are also of Connecticut, the Redwoods of Rhode Island, and the Royalls of Massachusetts. The Winthrops of New England of course take their place. Mr. Oliver's researches have been to him a labor of love. Beginning by looking up his own pedigree, he went on to trace those of the families with whom the Olivers were allied. Fascinated by the pursuit, the love of his subject grew upon him, until his inquiries extended to the history of Antigua in general. Meanwhile, the papers of the Public Record Office, London, the wills in the Probate Registry at Somerset House, and the stores of the British Museum have all been made to contribute to the elucidation of the history of the old English colony. Not content with this, however, Mr. Oliver, in 1889, must needs leave his luxurious home, Whitmore Lodge, at Sunninghill, in Berkshire, and proceed to Antigua itself, where he spent some months, making, with the help of his wife, an enthusiastic collaborator, some thousands of extracts from the wills and other records of the island. The work will appear in crown folio. The pedigrees will be arranged alphabetically. The edition will be strictly limited to 250 copies, all numbered and signed, price £3 3s. each. Special interleaved copies will be issued at £3 10s. each. A list of subscribers will be printed in the work. Mr. Oliver, it should be added, would be glad to receive from any Americans interested in the History genealogical notes and impressions of seals or book-plates referring to any of the families of which his book makes mention. An original list of the English colonists who, after the Treaty of Breda, were transported with all their slaves to Antigua from Surinam—which latter colony, it will be remembered, was then given up to the Dutch in exchange for New York—was recently found by Mr. Oliver in the Public Record Office, bound up with papers dated 1720. With these documents were also found two original papers dated 1636, including a list of persons bound for the Caribbee Islands, and a letter describing the miserable condition of the colonists.

—Athletics at Cornell seem to be in a bad way financially, and Prof. Wilder offers, in the *Ithaca Journal* of June 4, to head a subscription list with \$50 towards extinguishing the debts of the football team, baseball nine, and navy. He accompanies this tender, however, with conditions which involve an interdiction of intercollegiate contests for three years. His grounds for such a proposal are spread over five columns of the *Journal*, and will well repay perusal by all who have the welfare of our colleges at heart. He cites a large amount of testimony in accord with the view, long held in these columns, that the craze for athletics subverts the end for which colleges exist, and is attended by numerous well-defined evils of greater or less degree. President Eliot is, of course, one of his chief witnesses. Prof. Wilder's own observation, however, has great weight, as when he records the fact that "during the present term the baseball nine

have been absent for about one-fifth of the time of instruction, besides taking part at the college in fourteen match games with nines from abroad." And every one knows that this humiliating picture is true not of Cornell alone: "During the college year just closing, the two papers that are supposed to represent the purely literary element (as distinguished from the *Crank*, the organ of the departments of applied science) have been occupied largely by athletic chronicles, by appeals for attendance upon the games and for subscriptions, spiced in the Daily with denunciations of the unresponsive, and innuendoes or open complaints against other institutions." And on the delicate subject of the extent to which boys make choice of a college by reference to its athletic standing, Prof. Wilder remarks that, with a few exceptions, "so far as order, scholarship, and reputation are concerned, it would have been well for Cornell to pay the tuition at any other institution of such as have come or remained here wholly or mainly on account of intercollegiate athletic contests."

—A late number of the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und die philosophische Kritik* devotes more than a third of its pages to the philosophical and ethical views of H. Bender, in the form of a long article entitled "On the Nature of Morality and the Natural Process of Development of Ethical Thought," and of a very laudatory review of a published work by the same writer, 'Towards the Solution of the Metaphysical Problem.' H. Bender is a woman, and her Christian name is Hedwig. She pursued her philosophical studies entirely without any of the inspiration that comes from fellow-students or from teachers, and even without the knowledge of her own family. How little is known of her personality appears from the fact that the reviewer of her book refers to her by the masculine pronoun, in spite of the fact that a portion of her book originally appeared in the pages of this same journal in 1884 and 1885. Her philosophical position consists, according to her reviewer, in an attempt to draw the atomistic theory and a reformation of Kant's doctrine of the ideality of space and time into the service of a doctrine of the unity of substance, which involves a return to Spinoza.

—The most delightful autobiographies are often those of persons who have led quiet and comparatively uneventful lives. A striking illustration of this fact is furnished by the recently published 'Lebenserinnerungen' of Wilhelm Lübke (Berlin: Fontane), a volume of reminiscences extending over a period of some thirty years, and giving charming glimpses into the artistic and literary circles of Germany at a time when the fatherland was known chiefly as the home of poets and philosophers, and had not yet appeared upon the scene as a united nation and the leading political power in Europe. Lübke was born at Dortmund in Westphalia on January 17, 1826. His father was a common-school master, who rose to this position from the still lower estate of a weaver, and whose career is admirably sketched in an introductory chapter entitled "Aus dem Leben eines Volks-Schullehrers." Dortmund, whose origin is lost in legend, was a city in the days of Charlemagne; in the Middle Ages it was one of the most impregnable of fortresses (so fast as *Dürten* became a proverb), and played an important part as a member of the Hanseatic League and the chief seat of the famous *Vehmische* tribunals. Its architecture, antiquities, and historical associations exerted a

strong influence upon young Lübke, and turned his attention to the line of scholarly research in which he has acquired so great distinction. This tendency was developed and confirmed by his intercourse with Kinkel at Bonn and through his subsequent intimacy with Burkhard, Kugler, Schnaase, and Waagen in Berlin. There, too, he became acquainted with Friedrich Eggers, editor of the *Deutsche Kunstblatt*, in which his earliest articles were published. In 1857 he was appointed to a chair in the Berlin Academy of Architecture and in 1861 to a professorship in the Polytechnicum at Zurich. Meanwhile he had visited different parts of Germany and travelled extensively in Italy, France, Belgium, and England, and embodied the results of his studies in an outline of the history of art and two works on the history of architecture and sculpture from the earliest times to the present day, besides several monographs on kindred topics. The record of these journeys is very pleasant and instructive reading, and brings one in contact with many interesting persons. Lübke's 'Reminiscences' come down only to 1861, and comprise what might be called his *Lehrjahre* and *Wanderjahre*.

—On May 17 the Academy of Lausanne in Switzerland was christened a University, an event that was celebrated by three days of general festivity. Nevertheless the University exists as yet only on paper. The Academy of Lausanne, or *Schola lausannensis*, as it was first called, was founded in 1537 by the Bernese Government in the interests of the Reformation and for the purpose of educating young men for the ministry. It was originally a mere school of theology, and retained this character essentially until 1837, when the faculties of law and of philosophy were established. During the first two centuries of its existence it did not confine itself to instruction, but exercised important administrative functions. It appointed and ordained preachers of the Gospel, and was keen-sighted in detecting the slightest aberrations from orthodoxy; it was invested with the censorship of the press, and performed the duties of its office with the severity of a Spanish inquisitor. In 1698 it put the writings of Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Spinoza on its Index prohibitory, which might now be consulted as a catalogue of the best books of that time. After its reorganization in 1837 it had seventeen professorships and an annual appropriation of 60,000 francs. It has numbered a few distinguished men among its professors, but they have been chiefly foreigners. In 1871 a Russian named Rumine died at Lausanne and bequeathed to the city 1,500,000 francs for the erection of a public building, the nature of which was to be determined by a committee consisting of five professors of the Academy and five members of the Municipal Council, who, in accordance with the will of the testator, were to meet and decide this question fifteen years after his decease. This meeting was held in 1886. The committee agreed to use the money, which had meanwhile increased to 3,000,000 francs, to construct a suitable edifice for the Academy, and to convey it to the Cantonal Government on condition that the latter should endow some additional professorships and, by virtue of a new charter, transform the Academy into a University. This metamorphosis has now been legally effected, but has produced no actual change in the character or educational equipments of the institution. The foundations of the new building have not yet been laid, and even when it is completed, the so-called University will be nothing but the old Academy more elegantly and more comfortably housed.

—An unmistakable proof of the prosperity of Egypt is the increase in the number of and attendance upon the Government schools. In 1887 there were twelve schools, with 1,919 pupils, only half of whom paid fees, to the amount of £9,000. In 1890 the schools had increased to 47, the pupils to 7,307, of whom 62 per cent. paid nearly £20,000. These results are the more satisfactory as attendance is not compulsory, and, until recently, teachers were accustomed to bribe children to come to school in order to claim the Government grant. The new Director-General of Education is Artin Pasha, who was Under-Secretary in the late Ministry of Riaz Pasha, and acquired an excellent reputation in his department; but the principal credit is due to the Chief Inspector, Mr. Douglas Dunlop, who is aided by a staff of about thirty European teachers, sixteen of whom are English. In addition to Arabic, each pupil is required to learn, at his option, either English or French, not merely as a linguistic study, but mainly as a medium of instruction. In 1889 86 per cent. of the pupils chose French, but last year the proportion fell to 77 per cent. This predominance of the French is owing to the singular fact that English is not yet recognized as one of the official languages. All the great Powers have signified their willingness to accept it as such, but France naturally interposes a hindrance. As the matter now stands, a knowledge of the French language is essential to obtain a Government position. Of the foreign schools in Egypt the French are by far the best, the chief of which, according to the London *Times's* correspondent, are the Jesuit colleges—establishments of a high order with a large attendance. There are also good Italian and German schools giving a somewhat advanced education. In the schools connected with the American missions Arabic is used as the medium of instruction. But the three or four English schools are small, and provide only an elementary education. To six Egyptians who are studying in England, there are one hundred in France, and a Government training-college exists in Cairo under French management.

#### WAGNER'S LETTERS TO DRESDEN FRIENDS.

*Richard Wagner's Letters to Theodor Uhlig, Wilhelm Fischer, and Ferdinand Heine.* Translated, with a Preface, by J. S. Shedlock. Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 512.

THE modern interest in personality is illustrated by the fact that some of Wagner's best essays, which have been in print three or four decades, have never been translated into English, while his letters to Liszt, with Liszt's answers, had hardly left the printer's hands before the late Dr. Hueffer set to work and produced an excellent English version. The same has been the case with the new collection of letters to Wagner's Dresden friends, the translation having been in the no less able hands of Mr. Shedlock. A comparison of the German edition with the English does not redound to the credit of the former. The eminent publishers, Breitkopf & Härtel, who have made a fortune out of Wagner's works, deemed it sufficient to place these letters in the market, with good type and paper, it is true, but without running-titles, index, or a word regarding the friends to whom Wagner addressed them. Mr. Shedlock, on the contrary, has made an excellent index for his volume, which doubles its value, and in a seven-page preface he gives such details regarding Uhlig, Fischer, and Heine as are likely to interest readers of these

letters. Those who wish for further information may be referred to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, January 21, 1853, for a long obituary notice of Uhlig, and to the number for December 2, 1859, of the same periodical for a most sympathetic article by Wagner on Fischer—an article which should have been reprinted in the 'Collected Works,' because, even if it contains nothing of artistic value, it reveals the true nobility of Wagner's character, showing him in an attitude which he would probably have maintained towards all had they met him as Fischer did and as his genius deserved.

"How he took care of me!" Wagner writes in this article on Fischer. "When the utterly unexpected happened, like a miracle, and my operas, which hitherto had hardly got beyond the Dresden district, began to make their way throughout Germany, his anxiety for me gradually changed into activity, and where I, the youth, was helpless, he, the vigorous old man, took upon himself all my troubles, kept an eye on the copies and arrangements of my scores, wrote letters, made up packages, urged on some, held back others—all in order that I might live in peace and devote myself entirely to my work and my art."

It is amusing to compare Wagner's tone towards Fischer in his first letters and in some of the later ones. The first is dated 1841, begins with "Most honored sir," and ends with "Your deeply obliged servant." Wagner was in Paris at the time, but his "Rienzi" had just been accepted for performance at the Dresden opera, where Fischer was chorus-master and stage-manager, so that it was of importance to win his good will and help secure a correct performance of the opera. Wagner soon discovered that he had found not only a well-wisher, but an enthusiastic friend, in Fischer—a friend with whom he could joke and scold, and to whose sympathetic ear he could confess all his joys and sorrows, without artificial restraints. So the formal *Sie* is soon exchanged for the friendly *Du*, and the former "honored sir" is subsequently apostrophized as *Theaterjokel*, or even as a *Herrgottssakramenter!*

Similar changes are noticeable in the letters to his two other Dresden friends and coadjutors, Theodor Uhlig and Ferdinand Heine. To Heine only 26 of the 177 letters in this collection are addressed, and Mr. Shedlock surmises plausibly that many may have got lost. Heine was a comedian, a designer of costumes at the Dresden Court Theatre, and father of the Wilhelm Heine who accompanied Commodore Perry on his expedition to Japan and China, and who subsequently wrote several well-known works of travel. Ninety-two of the letters are addressed to Uhlig, who, even more than Fischer, helped the exiled Wagner in arranging his operatic and other business matters in Germany, there being hardly a letter in which some message of this sort is not involved. Uhlig was himself a composer, who, in his early youth, wrote almost a hundred vocal and instrumental pieces. He was at first an opponent of Wagner's, and even wrote a musical burlesque of his new style. He was first induced to change his mind on hearing Wagner conduct Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and his conversion in course of time became so complete that he wrote, shortly before his death: "I sympathize with Wagner from the bottom of my heart, so thoroughly that for me the rest of the musical world, with very few exceptions, hardly exists." It may be imagined of what value such friends were to the exiled composer, who could not have ventured on German soil without risking his freedom, if not his life.

The most remarkable effect of Wagner's

music on Uhlig was that it made him so dissatisfied with his own efforts at composition that he ceased from them. He tried to increase his scant income by playing in an orchestra, and Wagner playfully addresses him in one letter as a *schauspielmusikvorgeigender Mensch*—a "theatre-music-fiddling-fellow." The excellent vocal score of "Lohengrin" which Uhlig made, and which is equal to Bülow's "Tristan" and Tausig's "Meistersinger," shows what a thorough musician he was, and how useful he must have been to Wagner in attending to the alterations he made in the scores of his operas as they were produced in the German theatres. For, contrary to the general opinion, Wagner was constantly revising the scores of his earlier operas, and at one time he even entertained the project of entirely rescoring the "Flying Dutchman." In view of the superb improvements introduced in "Tannhäuser" by the Paris version, the abandonment of this plan is to be regretted.

There was another and still more important way in which Uhlig could show his friendly interest in Wagner. He wrote musical criticisms for various papers, and his pen was ever ready to fight courageously for the new cause. This partly accounts for the fact that he got the lion's share of the letters; for Wagner, at this time, felt constantly urged to give hints, both theoretical and practical, which Uhlig religiously worked up in his articles. To this circumstance these letters owe their greatest interest, for here Wagner sometimes goes to the heart of an artistic question with a directness which could hardly be expected in his more formal essays. The most radical of Uhlig's papers appeared in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, in company with similar ones in Wagner's behalf by Robert Franz, Raff, Liszt, and Bülow, who were many years ahead of the critical rabble in recognizing Wagner's genius, in confirmation of Schumann's dictum that criticism always lags behind the times unless it emanates from creative mind—which is only another way of saying that it takes genius to appreciate genius.

An interesting illustration of the way in which Wagner suggested new critical points of view to Uhlig is given in the fifty-first letter to him:

"On the occasion of the pianoforte score, I have again looked a little at the music of 'Lohengrin.' Would it not interest you, since you always write things of the kind, to discuss the thematic web, and show how the path I have struck out must lead to ever-fresh developments of form? Amongst other things, this came into my mind in the first scene of the second act. Just at the beginning of the second scene of this act—when *Elsa* steps on to the balcony—it struck me how in the prelude for wind instruments, in the seventh, eighth, and ninth bars, where *Elsa* appears by night, a theme is heard for the first time which, later on, when *Elsa* advances toward the church, in bright daylight and full splendor, is presented in complete development, broad and bright. Thereupon it became evident to me that my themes always originate coherently and with the character of plastic phenomena. Perhaps you can express this better than I."

There is such an abundance of interesting biographic and artistic matter in these letters that it is difficult to single out any one topic for special consideration. Perhaps our readers will thank us most for focussing the light that is thrown by various letters on Wagner's skill and method as a conductor, in which capacity he is less generally known than as a composer, reformer, and essayist. It is a fact that the chief difficulty against which Wagner had to contend was not that of raising the public to a higher level of understanding, but of finding



singers, players, and especially conductors who could adequately interpret his operas. Whenever they were properly performed, under his own guidance or that of Liszt or a few other competent conductors, they were received with enthusiasm, while at other places they were temporary failures. A striking instance was the performance of the "Meistersinger" overture in Leipzig under Wagner's direction, when it was encored, while the same piece, repeated some time later under another conductor at the same place, was hissed. Wagner knew very well how his operas were being butchered during the time of his exile, at most of the German opera-houses, and this kept him on live coals, and greatly added to the nervousness from which he suffered, especially as most of the first criticisms of his works were based on such wretched performances, and were, therefore, almost necessarily unfavorable. Our admiration of Wagner's personality constantly grows as we see in these letters how, although greatly in need of money for his own support and that of his (first) wife's parents, he refuses over and over again to grant permission for the performance of one of his operas to the managers of opera-houses where he knows the conditions are unfavorable. This point is very forcibly brought out in one of his letters to Heine:

"The small attention which G. paid to all my hints and directions appears to have made your hair stand on end! And yet Papa Fischer blames me so much for my guide to 'Tannhäuser'—he always imagines it to be my sole concern to see my operas performed, and that it is, therefore, 'unwise' to make so many out-of-the-way demands! I have indeed good ground for shame to have been misunderstood on the most important points even by you and him. I care ABSOLUTELY NOTHING about my things BEING GIVEN: I am only anxious that they should be SO GIVEN as I intended; he who will not and cannot do that, let him leave them alone. That is my whole meaning—and has Fischer not yet found that out? O, you hardened sinner!—Na, greet him heartily."

During his sojourn as an exile at Zürich, Wagner was constantly importuned to direct operatic or concert enterprises, and several times he allowed himself to be persuaded for a short time. In several of his letters to Uhlig he carefully describes his method, which enabled him to produce the effects that were so much admired in his performances. Before rehearsing a piece he would explain its poetic subject to the musicians to enable them to reproduce it not as one would repeat a verse in an unknown language, but as an actor speaks a line of which he fully understands the emotional import: "Most striking, in the first place, was the effect of my method upon the executants themselves; even the most ordinary dance musicians I have here in Zürich coached up to performances of which neither the public nor themselves had before the slightest anticipation." So much did the musicians like this procedure that "at the first rehearsal of the 'Tannhäuser' overture . . . the orchestra begged me to give them an explanation of the contents after the fashion of the 'Coriolan' overture, because then they would be able to 'play better.'" The audience was also provided with such an explanation on the programme, and the result is thus described by Wagner:

"The performance of the 'Tannhäuser' overture has now taken place; it surpassed all my expectations, for it really went admirably. You can best judge of this by its effect, which was terrific. I do not speak of the burst of applause which immediately followed it, but of the symptoms of that effect which only came gradually to my knowledge. The women, in particular, were turned inside out; the

impression made on them was so strong that they had to take refuge in sobs and weeping. Even the rehearsals were crowded, and marvellous were the accounts given to me of the first effect, which expressed itself chiefly as profound sorrowfulness; only after this had found relief in tears came the agreeable feeling of the highest, exuberant joy. Certainly this effect was only made possible by my explanation of the subject-matter of the overture; but—though my own work again made a most powerful impression on me—I was quite astounded at this unusually drastic operation. . . . After what I have accomplished with it here, I begin to set some store by this piece of music. I really cannot think of any other tone-poem capable of exercising a like powerful effect on sensitive, intelligent natures. But the concert-hall is its place, and not the theatre, where it is a mere prelude to the opera. There I should propose to give only the first tempo of the overture; the rest—in the fortunate event of its being understood—is too much before the drama; in the opposite event, too little."

But it was not only by explaining the emotional contents of concert pieces that Wagner made his musicians so effective. Here is another glimpse of his method: "The 'Egmont' entr'acte I had practised with the oboist, in my own room, as if he were a solo singer; the fellow could not contain himself for joy at what he at last produced." For the performance of the "Flying Dutchman" in Zürich Wagner went so far as to complete the orchestra to the necessary dimensions by importing some musicians at his own expense. During rehearsals and performances he threw his whole soul into his work to such an extent that it took him weeks to recover. Thus after the "Dutchman" performances just referred to he wrote: "I cannot pick up again; my nerves are much relaxed, and I suffer from sleeplessness. Only once again in my life can I sacrifice myself by preparing another performance; if I ever get so far, it will be with my 'Siegfried.' Till then I must keep away altogether from undertakings of the sort, and after 'Siegfried' I shall stop." From this point of view Wagner's exile in Switzerland must doubtless be regarded as a blessing; for had he remained in the post of a German court conductor, his arduous duties would have used up all his energy, and prevented him from creating those later colossal music dramas which breathe the free and bracing air of Switzerland.

#### RECENT NOVELS.

*In the Valley.* By Harold Frederic. Charles Scribner's Sons.

*Colonel Carter of Cartersville.* By F. Hopkinson Smith. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

*Mine Own People.* By Rudyard Kipling. U. S. Book Company.

*Gallegher, and Other Stories.* By Richard Harding Davis. Charles Scribner's Sons.

*Stories of Old New Spain.* By Thomas A. Janvier. D. Appleton & Co.

*A New England Nun, and Other Stories.* By Mary E. Wilkins. Harper & Brothers.

*The Rudder Grangers Abroad, and Other Stories.* By Frank R. Stockton. Charles Scribner's Sons.

*Fourteen to One.* By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

MR. HAROLD FREDERIC is to be congratulated on having worked a fresh field for a novel, and upon having made not only a new, but also a most successful venture. The story of the early Dutch settlers in the Mohawk Valley, and their part in our Revolution, has an especial interest for New Yorkers, and if Mr. Frederic had not dedicated his book to Horatio Seymour, it would have been suitable to do so to

the members of the Holland Society of this city. Their Dutch blood should amble with pleasure at Maj. Dowd Mauverensen's strictures upon the "Boston talkers" who have inflated themselves into fame, and upon the English, "the blood-letting islanders" who were murdering one another by "tens of thousands all over England, nominally for a York or a Lancaster, but truly from the utter wantonness of the butcher's instinct, the while we Dutch were discovering oil-painting and perfecting the noblecraft of printing with types." These are only outbursts, however. The book is a well-composed picture of Revolutionary times in the Dutch homes of the Mohawk Valley, at the Patroon's manor house in Albany, and on the field of battle among bullets and tomahawks. An excellent balance has been held between the lights and shadows of this composition, and a clever vein runs through it all of the honest Dutch Major's own personality, his fixity, his faithfulness, his round-eyed attitude towards the tangles of this mortal life. His love story is a very pretty one, and in fine it must be said that the book may boast the non-negative merit in an historic novel of being nowhere a bore.

'Colonel Carter of Cartersville' is a clever and engaging little volume, describing, with a touch both humorous and loving, an unreconstructed Virginia gentleman and the friends he endeared himself to, from his lawyer to his colored servant. We have all met many Virginia types in print, but this one has a distinct difference from the rest in that he is brought down to date and is beheld floating in rosy steam clouds of railroad schemes. The impossibility of adjusting the strait raiment of commerce to the untrammelled spirit of a Southern chevalier leads to a hundred comicalities, which are never far from the pathetic and which are excellently told.

We would not hear Mr. Rudyard Kipling's enemy say that his "own people" are orang-outangs and elephants. Yet these are among the most impressive of the group which he introduces to us as his kindred, and there is indeed a certain truth not comic herein. To Mr. Kipling not only nothing human, but nothing is alien. Since this young author first appeared, opinion about him has ranged from abhorrence to idolatry. We believe that to such as have read him most, the young luminary will most clearly appear a meteor with staying power. No doubt we hail his stories largely first for their blessed objectivity. They are really stories and not microscopy. And next, the sensation of never being kept waiting an instant for our sensation is keenly refreshing, and furnishes the leading external charm of Mr. Kipling's tales. The charm of India is indisputable also, but if there had been no India, another country would have seemed as charming. Private Mulvaney and the most winning of elephants, Moti Suj, are citizens of the world, and we shall all know them in heaven. Mr. Kipling has a few pungent words to say in autograph about his previous unauthorized American publishers; and, that nothing may be lacking to make us comfortable, there is a critical introduction by Mr. Henry James. If it be low, as Ruskin says, to run after the better expression of one's own views, let Mr. Kipling's adherents beware of this introduction. It will be only too satisfying to those base minds which delight in finding their delight set forth for them, as here, with a perfection all Mr. James's own, and with an enthusiasm which we have never known this writer previously to bestow on an Anglo-Saxon.

Mr. Davis's stories are also of the people and for the people; and their swift, concentrated style makes them grateful reading. Rarely failing in all their wide range to touch the original, they tell of types of humanity which would be recognized as familiar friends the world over. The local coloring is mainly that of New York, but coloring is subordinated to the drawing of the figures. Mr. Davis's Fifth Avenue sketches are as unaffected as those of Cherry Street, and while finding them all among the best stories of the year, we confess to a partiality for those which immortalize Van Bibber the dandy, who goes rowing in Central Park with children from the tenement-houses, and lends his aid to elopements and to deserving burglars; never, even under the most trying circumstances, losing the air of wearing an orchid in his buttonhole.

After the bee-line style of these two storytellers, Mr. Janvier's poetic descriptions and well-ordered narrative breathe of an earlier school and takes one almost as far away in time as in place. His dark Mexicans, gentle priests, and Virgin-praying maidens are portrayed with graceful charm. If there is a slight suggestion of opera about them, it is dispelled in such of the stories as deal with the later period, when the railroad-building Americans bore down upon the new Spain of Mexico and laid waste its fields. The mining and engineering desperado is graphically projected into the midst of the Mexican atmosphere, nor do either his manners or his morals appear to the disadvantage of the conquered race. Altogether, the author has made a new combination of figures and landscape, and has done it with sympathetic skill.

Miss Wilkins's new volume is in the vein of her earlier one, and goes far to prove it inexhaustible. The poor, dingy old New England women have lost none of their bleakness, the young ones nothing of their pathetic attempt at youth under difficulties. The kitchen operations go on as before, and over all this dismal life float rosy clouds of faith, loyalty, and heroism, without which one would feel that nothing was left but suicide. The delicacy of Miss Wilkins's hand never fails, any more than does her fertility of resource in incident. With all the monotony of entourage, a tender surprise is in every story. It is not strange that this patient monotony, these stories of self-immolation, warm the cockles of the hearts of New Englanders the world over, and prompt the feeling that martyrdom has first found its fitting garments in faded gingham.

Mr. Stockton's new book contains two delightful sea stories. Our old friends of Rudder Grange, too, are sure of a welcome from an affectionate public. Pomona's marriage has not staled her infinite variety. We cannot, however, find her visit to the Earl particularly amusing, and one or two of the stories weirdly suggest what would have happened in literature if Jacob Abbott had taken to humor.

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's volume of stories contains some remarkable work. The sketches of clerical life bear comparison with George Eliot's on the same theme. Her war and post-war stories are also full of vitality and a throbbing energy which well suits their subject, but which in other fields not infrequently becomes a hectic flame, consuming writer and reader alike. The intensity, let it be said, never becomes morally morbid, but there is a touch of "scarlet lilies" in Miss Phelps's manner which at times threatens literary poison.

A Commentary on the Campaign and Battle of Manassas of July, 1861, together

with a summary of the art of war. By Gen. G. T. Beauregard. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. xiv, 187.

THIS is a continuation of the controversy over the question, Who was in responsible command on the Confederate side in the first battle of Bull Run? Like all controversies, it shows a tendency to more biting personalities as it progresses. A difference of opinion as to the relative positions of Generals Johnston and Beauregard in the first important battle of the war, was manifested in their official reports of the engagement. The subject was discussed in publications of third persons in more or less close relations to the principals, and some feeling of irritation no doubt existed between the generals themselves before they personally took up the pen. In his 'Narrative,' published in 1874, the late Gen. Johnston, in giving his reminiscences of that campaign, emphasized some facts which indicated that he did not regard himself as having abdicated any of the responsibilities or duties of the commander of the Confederate troops assembled on the battlefield behind Bull Run, but that Gen. Beauregard was, in fact as well as in theory, his subordinate. The latter replied in a paper published first in the *Century Magazine*, and which in its final shape is one of the chapters of 'Battles and Leaders of the Civil War' as published by the Century Co. To this Gen. Johnston rejoined in another chapter of the same book, and now follows the present publication by Gen. Beauregard. Former phases of the controversy were complicated by points of difference between the two generals and Jefferson Davis, but these cut no figure now.

We cannot help feeling that Gen. Beauregard has made a mistake in adding to the literature of the dispute. The facts were pretty well discussed before, and the basis for an impartial historical judgment was as well laid as it is likely to be. Anything that may seem to be gained by fuller array of testimony is likely to be offset by the ill effect of increased acerbity and the indulgence in criticisms of his opponent in which the critic seems to suffer a loss of dignity. The general reputation of two so prominent officers in the Confederate army will not be greatly changed by the debate. We think the judgment of history in the matter is likely to be adverse to any claim in behalf of Gen. Beauregard that he bore the responsibilities or exercised the powers of general-in-chief on the battle-field in question. A few undisputed facts seem to be decisive of this.

Gen. Johnston's rank was superior to that of Gen. Beauregard, and upon his joining the latter upon the 20th of July he had issued a formal order assuming command of the joint forces. He remained upon the field during the engagement, was in the *mêlée* in the crisis of the action, was most of the time personally accompanied by Beauregard, and no order of the latter appears to have been issued without being explicitly or implicitly approved by him. To a military critic this should seem to be enough, unless some formal and definitive declination of the command were shown. None such appears, but, on the contrary, it is impossible to read Gen. Beauregard's own story without seeing that, however Gen. Johnston may have accepted his suggestions, he did so in a way to assume as full responsibility for them, when accepted, as if he had originated them.

The Confederate army at that day had no unit of organization larger than a brigade. Beauregard had been in independent command of some of these, and Johnston of others. Beauregard had been encamped near the field of battle and had studied its topo-

graphy. Johnston had come suddenly from the Shenandoah Valley and had no time to study the situation at Manassas. He accepted Beauregard's military capacity as equal to his own, and seems, in true *camaraderie*, to have tried to make the position of the second in command as useful and as honorable as he could. He accepted his suggestions of a plan of attack without any signs of jealousy or reserve, and ordered that the plan should be executed. This order was in writing. To say that a commanding general abdicates his command by ordering the execution of a detailed plan submitted by another, is a plain contradiction in terms. He demonstrates, on the other hand, that he is in command by making the order. The merit of suggestion belongs to Beauregard, the full responsibility of commanding it rests with Johnston.

Circumstances made the plan impracticable, for, on the morning of the 21st, McDowell's army was not in the position which the plan assumed. A modification of it was submitted to Johnston, who directed that this be executed. Again he proved himself to be in command. The modification was not acted upon from failure of orders to reach the proper brigade commanders, and so Beauregard's provision as to the battle became useless through no fault of his, and his suggestions thus far had no effect but to evoke the authority of the general-in-chief as shown in the orders mentioned.

The two generals spent the morning together waiting in vain for evidence that the initiative determined on was in progress. McDowell's attack from the direction of Sudley Springs, though distant, forced itself upon their attention. It needed no suggestion that it should be met, though the vivacity and fertility of Beauregard's brain is good guaranty that none of the phenomena of the day lacked suggestive and profitable discussion. Johnston ordered the moving of reinforcements towards the actual scene of battle, suspended other plans, and galloped to the sound of the guns. Beauregard waited only to despatch some detailed orders, and then followed his chief. Johnston personally gave fresh directions to his chief of artillery as to hurrying some batteries towards the famous hill above Young's Branch.

On the field, when the overpowered brigades of Evans, Bee, and Bonham were retreating in confusion, both Johnston and Beauregard showed the personal qualities of brilliant soldiers in rallying and reforming their broken troops. At Beauregard's earnest instance, Johnston, reluctant to part from actual contact with the fighting line, gave to his subordinate the command of the brigades actually engaged, and retired a little, to the Lewis house, to coordinate and hasten the movements on the larger field. Gen. Beauregard has injured his own case more than another could do, by repeating the assertion that in the above incident "Gen. Johnston performed, at his (B.'s) suggestion and request and at the post indicated by him, the service for which he most needed his assistance" (p. 92). That no doubt may remain that he intends to say that Gen. Johnston was acting in fact as his subordinate, he adds (p. 95), "Had Gen. Beauregard's chief of staff, Col. Jordan, been on the field with him instead of Gen. Johnston, he would have sent him to perform that same duty, as, under the circumstances, he would have ordered Gen. Johnston to it, had the latter been his junior." The impartial reader will be pretty sure to regard this as a *reductio ad absurdum*.



In his official report, Gen. Beauregard had said of this that he had secured Gen. Johnston's reluctant consent by urging that "one of us must do so, and it was *properly his place*." Treated as a loyal suggestion that the general-in-chief should withdraw from the unnecessary exposure of the fighting line to perform the more responsible duties of general direction of the army, it would be an act exciting our sympathy, as in another famous case when the line itself shouted, "Go back, General Lee!" but the chivalry and the loyalty change to blind egoism if we add, "because you are in fact my chief of staff!" There is little hazard in saying that if that explanation had been added at the time, Gen. Beauregard would have been the man to leave the front. History will be more kind to the latter than he is to himself, and will say that the gloss now given is an illusion born in later years.

The continued discussion has justified Gen. Johnston's original report as both true and generous. He treats Gen. Beauregard as his equal: he goes even beyond the necessary in attributing to him many suggestions; he gives full credit to the importance of the duty performed on the fighting line. He reserves to himself the responsibility for the actual decision as to strategy and tactics when the suggestions of the junior have been received, and this supreme duty of the general-in-chief he is shown to have exercised by Gen. Beauregard's own statements. No doubt occasions have arisen when famous officers have waived their rank and served under a junior—the instances enumerated by Gen. Beauregard illustrate this; but the rule, to which these are the exceptions, is that the ranking officer shall command. The exceptions exist only by the spontaneous act of self-abnegation of him who has the right to lead. He is the only judge of the duty or of the propriety of waiving his right. He cannot do it without knowing that he has done so, and it savors no little of the ridiculous for the subordinate to argue that it was done, while the superior both then and ever afterwards asserted the contrary, and, by the testimony of the subordinate himself, commanded the things that were actually done at each successive step in a great day of battle.

*Through Russia on a Mustang.* By Thomas Stevens. Cassell Publishing Co.

MR. STEVENS issues in book form the letters which he sent from Russia to the N. Y. *World* during the summer of 1890, with the addition of sixteen illustrations from photographs taken by himself. The pictures do not add greatly to the interest, since, although well chosen, they have been reproduced by a process which leaves them pale and milky in tone. The real attraction of the book lies in the author's description of his ride from Moscow to the Black Sea. The introductory chapter on St. Petersburg errs in the direction of most accounts from hasty travellers who visit foreign capitals in the "dead season," and indulge in general remarks upon the customs of all seasons, and upon classes who are absent. An instance in point is the dogmatic statement that "an American or European who visits St. Petersburg or Moscow in the winter can stand the cold better than a resident. He can stand it outdoors with thinner clothes on," etc. This hearsay evidence holds good only with regard to the first winter's residence. If the disdainful foreigner survive that, he will feel the cold much more keenly than Russians during the succeeding winters. If the author had re-

mained a few days in St. Petersburg, he would have learned the reason for the wearing of overcoats in summer also, by cabmen and others. Equally unreliable are his statements concerning the pickles and teeth of Russian women, and a "cavalcade" of priests.

After an account of a brief trip to a village near the capital, we are introduced to his preparations for the horseback journey. In view of his frank admissions regarding the defects of the mustang which were not mentioned to him when he bought the animal from the Carver-Whitney "Wild America" show, and which he intended to conceal on selling him, his strictures on Russian horse-dealers for their grasping disposition are decidedly amusing. He secures a companion and interpreter in the person of a student from a commercial school (not a "university"—there is but one in Moscow, which is not devoid of numbered houses as stated), and sets out. The diary of his experiences, few of them startling, flows on easily and with general success except when Mr. Stevens attempts to philosophize, as on the subject of the Russian policy which is intended to keep foreign goods out of the market altogether by means of a prohibitory tariff. "Cheap clothing for the welfare of the masses is, of course, not for a moment to be considered in a country where the interests of the people are made subservient to that of the State," he writes—which may mislead some people into thinking that it is a book of American travels. The reader will find the chapter on Count Tolstol and the account of an interview with the Governor at Ekaterinoslav the most engaging parts of the narrative; but he must be warned against accepting the Russian words used by the author as a basis for study of the language, *karpooes* for *arbuti* (watermelons) being a fair specimen of their accuracy. One singular accusation brought against the peasants is, that they are too lazy to cook. This judgment is pronounced because they refused to cook chickens for the American, and proposed to boil eggs in the samovar. A very small amount of reflection would have shown him that it would have required hours of time and more wood than the chicken was worth to heat their oven for that purpose alone, and that eggs can easily be boiled by steam in the samovar without touching the water for the tea. Moreover, at that particular season of the year, before the new grain is harvested, the poor peasants have very little to cook or to eat for themselves.

A very great deal of the information concerning the ideas, customs, and superstitions of the people, which refers to other seasons than that at which the author's trip was made, is taken from various books. While valuable in itself, it is out of place here, to a certain degree, since it interferes with the sequence of the story, and cannot, in the nature of the case, be presented in as satisfactory a manner as in the original sources, where this whole branch of folk-lore can be studied in an exhaustive manner by such persons as affect that line of literature. Obviously, also, only the merest fraction of Mr. Stevens's information upon the Orthodox Church and the priests can be considered as obtained at first hand, and, consequently, authoritative as the record of personal investigation. With these exceptions, which the reader will readily discriminate for himself in more detail, and overlooking defects of style such as the use of "the writer" and "I" in the same sentence, we can say that Mr. Stevens has succeeded in making a very entertaining book.

*Trade Unionism, New and Old.* By George Howell, M.P. [Social Questions of To-day.] London: Methuen & Co. 1891.

MR. HOWELL declares that this book is in no sense a reproduction of his recent work, 'The Conflicts of Capital and Labor,' or an epitome of its contents. In a narrow sense this may be true, but, with one exception, everything that is here contained may be found in the larger volume, which, moreover, seems to us to be more carefully written. The exception, however, is of so much importance as to command attention, as it treats of the rise of a new spirit among English laborers. Hitherto the aims of the trade-unions have been in the main legitimate and laudable, being chiefly the securing of liberty to combine for the support of their members while sick and out of work, and the provision of burial funds. But at the Trade Union Congress of 1890 certain resolutions were adopted which show that these aims have become subordinate to others of a widely different character.

The nature of the change will be best understood from the resolutions themselves. The first declared that as men were often thrown out of work "by the ever-changing methods of manufacture," Parliament should empower "each municipality or county council to establish workshops and factories under municipal control, where such persons shall be put to useful employment, . . . and that trade-union wages be paid." The other resolution was to the effect that Parliament should "reduce the working hours in all trades to eight per day, or to a maximum of forty-eight hours per week." The language of the bill introduced into Parliament in accordance with this resolution is noteworthy enough to be quoted. The chief provision reads as follows:

"§1. On and after the first day of January, 1892, no person shall work, or cause or suffer any other person to work, on sea or land, in any capacity, under any contract or agreement, or articles for hire of labor, or for personal service on sea or land (except in case of accident), for more than eight hours in any one day of twenty-four hours, or for more than forty-eight hours in any week."

It is not probable that Parliament will at present comply with these resolutions, but the startling feature of the situation is, that the trade-unions, if they are to enter the political arena, will hold the balance of power, and the existing parties will be tempted to bid for their votes. There is much dispute as to the number of members represented at this Congress, the official report making the number 1,800,000, which Mr. Howell would reduce by more than one-half; but at the lowest figure the total is weighty enough. Mr. Howell—to whom the resolutions are extremely offensive—endeavors to minimize the significance of this action, urging that the socialistic element brought out its full strength, while the conservative forces were without leadership. He points out also that the vote on the eight-hours resolution showed 193 in its favor, 155 opposed, and 109 abstentions. But where such a principle is involved, abstention must be considered approval.

Many of the most important unions have repudiated the action of the Congress, many were not represented at the Congress, and many will be divided. The old laborers in the cause, like Mr. Howell, are distressed by the working of the new leaves, and none of the workingmen's representatives would consent to introduce the Eight-Hours Bill in Parliament. The Socialists have not won yet, and they will meet with a stubborn opposition; but they have made such advances that the

future action of the Trade-Union Congresses will have momentous significance.

*Essays on French Novelists.* By George Saintsbury. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891.

MR. SAINTSBURY collects in this volume the series of papers on French novelists contributed by him to the *Fortnightly Review* in 1878, together with a few others of different dates on the same general subjects. The essays are upon Hamilton, Le Sage, the Novel of Sensibility, Bernard, Dumas, Gautier, Sandeau, Feuille, Flaubert, Müllner, Chéribuliez; and there is a general introductory deliverance. Mr. Saintsbury's manner of treatment is well known to our readers, but its great disadvantage of inevitable dullness is less felt in this volume than in that of the English essays lately noticed by us, because there is in the development of the French novel a story which gives some element of wider interest than belongs to the ordinary piecemeal book review in which Mr. Saintsbury delights. His knowledge of the special topic, so far as it depends on omnivorous reading of the literature involved, is thorough, and his distinctions, if they lack fineness, are as plain as the nose on a man's face. He is very blunt in speech and much given to freeing his mind; and in treating the French novel both qualities serve him well. He thinks the literary art of the French novel has been overrated, and says so; as to its superiority in "passion," he declares that "there is of passion itself more in a page, nay in a paragraph, of 'Esmond' than in all French fiction save 'Manon Lescaut,' 'La Nouvelle Héloïse,' and 'La Morte Amoureuse.'" With the complaint about "candor" he has no sympathy at all. He believes that Romanticism in some form will surely follow the present decadence of the realistic novel, and he hopes he may live long enough to read the new Scott and Dumas.

When a man professes this creed in fiction, it is plain that we have to deal with a critic and not a theorist. And in fact Mr. Saintsbury's characterization of each novelist is strong, and in our opinion his general judgments are singularly temperate and sound. The view of the French novel given by all the papers in connection is a broad and enlightening one, it is historical as well as æsthetic, and it is without that caressing touch, that finessing, that evasion of the plain truth of the matter, which has made our criticism of French literature in the current novel a literary immorality.

*Elementary Science Lessons.* By W. Hewitt. Longmans.

*Autobiography of the Earth.* By the Rev. H. N. Hutchinson. Appletons.

MR. W. HEWITT, science demonstrator for the Liverpool School Board, has drawn up a little book as an introduction to scientific studies for the youngest scholars. The physical properties of substances are chiefly considered; hard and soft, transparent and opaque, elastic and brittle bodies are all experimented upon in a simple way, and elementary generalizations are naturally reached. The scheme of the book is excellent. There can be no question that a child would be logically trained if all his studies were pursued on as logical a scheme as this; but for teachers who can really lead their classes through such a course, the book is over-minute in its instructions. Perhaps, at the outset of the introduction of scientific methods into schools of low grades,

it may be necessary to show teachers of less experience how those of greater carry on the work, and thus for a time, as in the beginning of the kindergarten method, much specification may be allowed; but this stage should soon pass and leave the teachers free to invent, each for himself, the one method of the many possible methods that is best adapted to his class. The object of Hewitt's lessons is to give a knowledge of the common physical properties of matter, and to explain by means of likeness and contrast the use of these properties in classifying and identifying substances. "The children are to be told nothing which they may reasonably be expected to find out for themselves. They are rather to be brought as much as possible into the attitude of discoverers." This is excellent, and if realized will be invaluable to every scholar all through his after life; but most children will have unconsciously made many of the discoveries here set forth before they have reached the class-room. The teacher must therefore look to it that the work does not become petty and stale. It does not appear to be directly stated, but it should be understood, that such a book as this is best used simply as a guide for the teacher, not as a text for the scholars. Their text should be simply the materials for the experiments and the suggestions of the teacher.

If a scholar grew up on instruction of Mr. Hewitt's kind, well given, he would not, in later years, bring forth a book like Mr. Hutchinson's 'Autobiography of the Earth,' a popular account of geological history; he might, indeed, be somewhat impatient with it. The author and the book are both English, and the book contains so little that is pertinent to the geology of this country that we wonder at its republication here. It contains a straightforward account of English geology, correct as far as our knowledge of that small country goes, but hardly broad enough to deserve so large a title as the 'Autobiography of the Earth.' The form of statement is not calculated to inspire individual observation; there is little consideration of the evidence that leads to conclusions; geological argument is insufficiently illustrated. We question if any sportsman who, as the author supposes, might be interested in the "rock or boulder on which he rests for a mid-day repast," and who would like to understand a little of its previous history, will gain the understanding from these chapters. He may come to believe that the boulder is described somewhere in the book, but as it is not labelled, and as the book does not tell him how to identify it, he will have to remain in curious ignorance. The author does not appear to have been a teacher; he doses his readers with the information that he has gained and which they ought to wish to know, but many of the facts to which he gives much attention will never be met with by the sportsman, and the questions that the sportsman will most likely ask are not answered. It is not the kind of popular geology that we hope yet to see some day, and in this country it can have little value except to those who plan a geological walk through England. Even for these there are better books.

*The Science of Fairy Tales: An Inquiry into Fairy Mythology.* By E. S. Hartland, F.S.A. [Contemporary Science Series.] Scribner & Welford. 1891. 8vo, pp. viii., 365.

WHEN we consider how recently fairy tales were thought to have fulfilled their function when they had entertained for an hour the denizens of the nursery, it seems strange to find

a volume devoted to them in the "Contemporary Science Series," and that there is such a thing as the science of fairy tales. It would have been very instructive had Mr. Hartland told us in a preface or opening chapter how this scientific view came to be evolved, for the present theory was not the first in the field, and something is to be said for the two others which it has displaced. Mr. Hartland, however, gives us no history of the study of fairy tales, mentions but incidentally any other theory than his own, and does not even present his own theory in an orderly and systematic manner, but allows the reader to arrange the material and draw his own general conclusions. In other words, Mr. Hartland's book is a series of studies not so much on fairy tales as on tales about fairies, which is quite a different thing, although it is justified by the sub-title of the book.

These studies (excluding two introductory chapters on "The Art of Story-Telling" and "Savage Ideas") are five in number, and deal with "Fairy Births and Human Midwives," "Robberies from Fairyland," "Changelings," "The Supernatural Lapse of Time in Fairyland," and "Swan-Maidens." All but the last deal more or less exclusively with the first of the two classes into which the author divides all fairy tales, the class of "stories which relate to definite supernatural beings or definite orders of supernatural beings, held really to exist, and the scenes of which are usually laid in some specified locality." This class the author terms *sagas* (they are really, as we have said above, stories about fairies). The last study alone deals with the fairy-tale proper, the *Märchen*, which is told simply for amusement, does not embody incidents now believed to be true, is imaginative and marvelous, unhistorical and unlocal, and ends happily.

Mr. Hartland's theory, which he propounds as the science of fairy tales, is the one now generally accepted, and which has often been examined in these columns in reviews of the different works of Mr. Andrew Lang, to whom belongs the credit of the first orderly exposition of it in recent times. It sees in popular tales the survival of savage beliefs and customs. Mr. Hartland presents it in a number of essays dealing with certain topics of fairy mythology, which are illustrated by copious references to similar beliefs, mostly among the European Aryans. The author's learning is extensive, and his manner interesting, while his inferences are generally correct. He does not, of course, pretend to be exhaustive, and sometimes overlooks an interesting illustration; as, for example, in the chapter on "Fairy Births and Human Midwives," he dwells on the curious fact that human visitors to Fairyland must not eat there, but does not cite the frequent feature in popular tales of husband forgetting bride when he partakes of food on his return home (see Köhler in 'Orient und Occident,' ii., p. 103, note to Campbell's 'Battle of the Birds,' i., p. 25, and Webster's 'Basque Legends,' p. 108). In the chapter on "Swan Maidens," p. 281, occurs an interesting example of the complex nature of folk-tales, and of the influence exerted upon them by literary or cultured sources. In an Estonian tale cited from Jannsen, a fairy child (a nightmare) is obliged to remain with a family she has visited, and grows up and marries the son. One day in church she bursts out laughing during the sermon, and tells how she saw stretched on the wall of the church a horse-skin, on which the Evil One was writing the names of all those who slept or chattered in church, and



paid no heed to God's Word. The skin was at last full of names, and, in order to find room for more, the Devil had to pull it with his teeth, so as to stretch it further. In so doing he bumped his head against the wall and made a wry face, whereat she who saw it laughed. This is a well-known mediæval monkish legend, which was frequently told from the pulpit as an awful warning (see Crane's edition of the 'Exempla of Jacques de Vitry,' p. 100, and note p. 231).

It is to be hoped that Mr. Hartland may be induced some time to give us another and enlarged edition of his interesting work, more systematically put together and with a wider range of illustrations. The new science of folktales rests upon the fact of the substantial likeness of popular tales in all lands and among all peoples, which can apparently be explained only upon the theory of their survival from times of savagery, and it is particularly important to prove this by examples taken from the tales or customs of savages of the past or present.

*Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum sæculi xi. Ex Monumentis Germaniæ Historici.* Edidit Kuno Francke. Hanover: Hahn. 1891.

THE most recent addition to that vast treasury of German historical material, the 'Monumenta Germaniæ Historica,' has an especial interest as being the work of a scholar who has, since his connection with the 'Monumenta,' become one of us, Prof. Kuno Francke of Harvard University. The texts which he has prepared are four pamphlets relating to the furious conflict between Papacy and Empire in the ele-

venth century. They are (1) a letter of Archbishop Gebhard of Salzburg to the Bishop of Metz; (2) a letter by a certain Wenricus, a clergyman of Treves, in the name of the Bishop of Verdun, addressed to Pope Gregory VII; (3) a long treatise by the monk Manegold of Lautenbach in reply to the letter of Wenricus, and defending the cause of the Papacy as vigorously as the former had that of the King; (4) a very short anonymous treatise 'De discordia Papæ et Regis.' Each document is preceded by a short introduction, giving an account of the manuscripts upon which the edition is based and a very brief description of the author. The edition is done with the utmost care, and is adorned with very beautiful facsimile reproductions of specimen pages from the originals.

#### BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Aitken, Edith. *Elementary Text-Book of Botany.* Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.50.  
 Bean, F. *Pudney and Walp.* John W. Lovell Co.  
 Bouchot, H. *De la Reliure: Exemples à imiter ou à rejeter.* Paris: E. Rouveyre.  
 Causer, F. *Hat Aristoteles die Schrift vom Staate der Athener geschrieben?* Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen.  
 Coulanger, F. de. *The Origin of Property in Land.* London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.  
 Delpit, A. *His Two Loves.* St. Paul: The Price-McGill Publishing Co. 50 cents.  
 Farnell, G. S. *Greek Lyric Poetry.* Longmans, Green & Co. 65.  
 George, H. *Protection or Free Trade?* Henry George & Co. 25 cents.  
 Hall, Eugene J. *Masters and Men.* Chicago: Charles H. Sergel & Co.  
 Hanscom, Elizabeth D. *Lamb's Essays.* Boston: D. Lothrop Co. \$1.25.  
 Hartzell, J. H. *Application and Achievement.* G. P. Putnam's Sons.  
 Hewitt, W. *Elementary Science Lessons.* Longmans, Green & Co. 50 cents.  
 Hilbert, W. *Hoher als die Kirche.* Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 15 cents.  
 Howard, J. R. *Henry Ward Beecher: A Study.* Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 75 cents.  
 Howells, W. D. *April Hopes.* Harper & Bros.  
 Hume, M. A. S. *Chronicle of King Henry VIII.* of England. Charles Scribner's Sons. 60 cents.

Lodge, H. C. *Boston.* Longmans, Green & Co. \$1.25.  
 MacKie, C. P. *With the Admiral of the Ocean Sea: A Narrative of the First Voyage to the Western World.* Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. \$1.75.  
 Martineau, Rev. J. *Essays, Reviews and Addresses.* H. Co. \$2.50.  
 Miller, W. *Latin Prose Composition. Part II.* Leach, Shewell & Sanborn. 60 cents.  
 Noughts and Crosses. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.  
 Oliphant, Margaret O. W. *Memoir of the Life of Laurence Oliphant and of Alice Oliphant, His Wife.* 2 vols. Harper & Bros.  
 Open Court. Vol. IV. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.  
 Ordronaux, J. *Constitutional Legislation in the United States.* Philadelphia: T. & J. W. Johnson & Co.  
 Orr, Mrs. S. *Life and Letters of Robert Browning.* 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 65.  
 Osborne, G. A. *Differential and Integral Calculus.* Leach, Shewell & Sanborn. 42.  
 Peachs, S. *Landscape Gardening.* G. P. Putnam's Sons.  
 Peck, W. *A Popular Handbook and Atlas of Astronomy.* G. P. Putnam's Sons.  
 Ricardo, D. *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.* Charles Scribner's Sons. 42.  
 Ritchie, F. *First Steps in Greek.* Longmans, Green & Co. 50 cents.  
 Roberts, R. D. *Eighteen Years of University Extension.* Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. 35 cents.  
 Rogers, J. E. T. *Oxford City Documents, 1288-1665.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.  
 Ross, Janet. *Early Days Recalled.* London: Chapman & Hall.  
 Scott, Sir Walter. *Lady of the Lake.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.  
 Seyffert, O. *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities.* Macmillan & Co. 65.  
 Shakspeare, W. *Antony and Cleopatra.* New York: Duprat & Co.  
 Shakspeare, W. *The Tempest.* Longmans, Green & Co. 35 cents.  
 Shakspeare, W. *Taming of the Shrew.* Longmans, Green & Co.  
 Sterne, S. *The Story of Two Lives.* Cassell Publishing Co. 61.  
 Thorpe, T. D. *A Dictionary of Applied Chemistry.* Vol. II. Longmans, Green & Co. \$15.  
 Thornton, W. *Origin, Purpose, and Destiny of Man.* Boston: William Thornton.  
 Thoroldsen, J. T. *Lad and Lass: A Story of Life in Iceland.* London: Sampson Low & Co.  
 Walworth, Mrs. J. H. *The New Man at Rosemere.* Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.  
 What in Diagrams. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. \$1.25.  
 Williams, James. *Wills and Intestate Succession.* London: Adam & Charles Black; Boston: Little, Brown & Co. \$1.50.  
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